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CONTENTS:

	PAGE.
Indiana: Notes on Indian Affairs	353
Health Missioners for Rural India, by Miss Florence Nightingale	359
The Coming Congress, by A. O. Hume, C.B.	360
The late Mr. Manomohan Ghose, by Sir J. B. Phear ..	363
The Approach of Famine:	
I.—Retrospect: By an Anglo-Indian	364
II.—By an English Onlooker	365
"Health Missioners for Rural India": Government Letter	367
Robert Browning's Poems	368
The Expected Famine	369
Wanted: Checks on Expenditure	370
The Greek Lyric Poets	372
Our London Letter	374
"The Expected Famine":	
I.—How about "Exchange Compensation"? ..	376
II.—"The Sheet Anchor of Indian Statecraft"	379
III.—Speech by Lord G. Hamilton, M.P. ..	378
IV.—Some Remarks	380
Professor J. C. Bose	380
Reviews: The Baba Log	382
A First Book of Jurisprudence	383
Bibliography of Books and Articles on Indian Subjects ..	384
Recent Official Publications	384

Indiana.

Mr. Manomohan Ghose.

LAST month we recorded Mr. Manomohan Ghose's triumphant vindication of the proposal to separate executive from judicial duties in India. To-day it is our painful task to chronicle his sudden and untimely death. India laments the loss in him of a great leader, the faithful friend of the poor and the oppressed. The Anglo-Indian journals join in the universal testimony to his character and ability. "His natural powers of mind," says the *Pioneer*, "would have been remarkable in any circle." "The union of irreproachable character and high philanthropy with such rare ability has," the *Times of India* writes, "fallen to few in a higher degree than to Mr. Ghose. Bengal is sensibly the poorer for having lost such a son." Sir John Phear, whose touching tribute to the memory of his friend will be found on another page, writes that "if any man can without qualification deserve the epithets true and good, they pre-eminently belong to him." Mr. Ghose, who was a loyal supporter of the Congress, had been chiefly occupied of late with the movement in favour of judicial independence, for which he spared no effort during the past twenty years. He did not live to see the actual downfall of the system which he condemned. But the battle is really won, and it was he who led the conquering army. If the ancient historian is right in attributing blessedness to those in whose case the hour of victory is the hour of death, Mr. Ghose may be said to have attained that blessedness. The tragic suddenness of his death came as a shock to all who knew him, both here and in India. His place cannot be filled. Only his example can be followed.

Village Sanitation.

WE are indebted to our distinguished contributor Miss Florence Nightingale for some further suggestions towards the scheme, propounded by her some time ago in our columns, for "health missioners" in rural India. Her proposal, which is set forth in her article on page 359 of our present issue, is that systematic teaching should be given in Indian villages upon the need of pure water and of the removal of refuse, and the dangers of overcrowding. The teaching, according to Miss Nightingale's admirable scheme, is to be given in lectures, followed up by practical work designed to meet the special needs of the individual village. Mr. B. M. Malabari has undertaken to co-operate in the Bombay Presidency, and it is to be hoped that many voluntary committees will soon be actively engaged in the work. The goodwill of the Government of India, as is shown by the circular printed on page 367, is already assured. But the women of India can do more in this matter than the Government of India. "To enlist the sympathy and gain the approval of the good mother who rules the home is," Miss Nightingale says, "the keystone of the whole position." Her watchword is "Small beginnings under favourable circumstances." The circumstances will not be favourable unless they

include sympathy and patience. Miss Nightingale's article has been written with immediate reference to the approaching Congress at Calcutta, to which, we venture to suggest, a special resolution on the important subject of village sanitation might well be submitted. The Congress has never been slow to consult the interests, and the practical needs, of the Indian masses. The scheme suggested by Miss Nightingale will, we have no doubt, meet with enthusiastic approval, especially at a time when the menace of famine is turning men's thoughts to the economy of the village. The subject is also one that appeals to Native States, and especially to such enlightened rulers as the Gaekwar of Baroda, whose zeal in the matter of sanitary education is well known, and the Thakore Saheb of Gondal, himself a student of medicine, and second to none in forethought for the health of his people.

Lord Welby's Commission.

Was it not Callimachus who said, "a big book is a big evil"? Yet he had not seen the two ample Blue-books which were issued a few weeks ago by the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure. A Parliamentary Return showing the number of persons who have read, to say nothing of digesting, these thousand pages would be an interesting, though hardly a voluminous, document. Would it, we wonder, contain even as many names as there are members of the Commission itself? The Commissioners state in their merely formal report that they think it desirable to lay before her Majesty the Queen, without delay, the evidence which they have hitherto taken. One way of doing a thing without delay is to do it at once. But a majority of the members of Lord Welby's Commission, in the exercise of their discretionary authority, decided to sit with closed doors, and this decision was stubbornly maintained until the twenty-seventh sitting. Then —on July 15th last—reporters were admitted. Save for the last four of the thirty sittings, therefore, the evidence which is now reported to Parliament and the public is new. The result is precisely what, over and over again, we predicted it would be. The dose is too large. The patient is afraid of it. It may, of course, be the case that members of the House of Commons, in the retired pensiveness of the Parliamentary recess, are coming to terms with these bulky volumes. But then, again, it may not. As for the newspapers, they have for the most part, like prudent Levites, passed by on the other side. Even the few that have ventured to look into the volumes cannot be said, and probably would not claim, to have discussed them adequately. A leader-writer who, between the hours of nine and midnight, is required to "turn out" a readable column on a thousand pages of unfamiliar and unattractive facts may be excused for skipping and skimming. The subject would have had more chance if it had been vouchsafed to the world piecemeal.

The Origin of the Commission.

But it is idle to cry over spilt milk, and we must be content if, little by little, the superlative importance of the matter contained in these Blue-books comes to be realised by those who, where India is concerned, have ears to hear. Perhaps, in the first place, it may be of interest to glance back at the circumstances which led to the appointment of the Royal Commission. Its appointment was brought about by the unceasing efforts of the Indian Parliamentary Committee under the leadership of Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The independent members of the House of Commons who seek to obtain a hearing for the unrepresented taxpayers of India asked year after year for a revival of the "stocktaking" which was periodic under the rule of the East India Company. At last, within certain limits, they were successful. In August, 1893, we recorded the formation of an Indian Parliamentary Committee "for the purpose of promoting combined and well-directed action among those interested in Indian affairs." In the debate on the Indian Budget on September 20th in the same year, the Indian Parliamentary Committee submitted, but were prevented from taking a division upon, the following motion:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, a Royal Commission should be appointed to enquire into the economic condition of the people of India, and their ability to sustain the present cost of the Indian Government, and also to consider what financial relations should exist between India and this country."

The motion was supported by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. Schwann, and Mr. Bayley. But Mr. George Russell, then Under Secretary for India, refused the proposal on the grounds (i) that Royal Commissions were required only where there was general ignorance of the facts; (ii) that they were "vast undertakings"; and (iii) that they were often used merely for dilatory purposes and led to no practical result. Accordingly, in 1893, the Indian Parliamentary Committee failed to accomplish their purpose.

The Terms of the Reference.

In the following year, however, better fortune attended the efforts of Sir W. Wedderburn and his friends, whose number had in the meantime considerably increased. In the debate on the Indian Budget on August 14th, 1894, the Indian Parliamentary Committee concentrated their strength upon this important motion:

"That, in the opinion of this House, a full and independent Parliamentary enquiry should take place into the condition

and wants of the Indian people, and their ability to bear their existing financial burdens; the nature of the revenue system and the possibility of reductions in the expenditure; also the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom."

Compared with the motion of the previous year, this motion exhibited, as will be seen, two points of difference. It asked for "Parliamentary enquiry" instead of a Royal Commission, and it expressly asked for enquiry into "the nature of the revenue system." The motion was supported by Mr. Samuel Smith, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Herbert Paul, Mr. Seymour Keay, and Sir William Wedderburn. In reply, Sir Henry (then Mr.) Fowler "undertook on the part of the Government" that "at the very commencement of next Session" he would propose the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into "the financial expenditure of the Indian revenues both in England and in India." Needless to say, what Sir H. Fowler undertook to offer was very much less than what the Indian Parliamentary Committee had asked. The terms of reference indicated in his speech ignored "the condition and wants of the Indian people, and their ability to bear their existing financial burdens." They also ignored "the nature of the revenue system." Sir H. Fowler suggested a Select Committee on expenditure, and expenditure only. As we wrote at the time:

"The Select Committee which he has promised is to be interpreted as the thin end of the wedge. Full enquiry cannot be postponed much longer. Meanwhile, it is for the Indian Parliamentary Committee to turn the Select Committee to the best possible account."

It remains to be added that at the beginning of 1895 Sir H. Fowler, on second thoughts, proposed to appoint a Royal Commission instead of a Select Committee. This change had two advantages to recommend it. Unlike a Select Committee a Royal Commission (*a*) may include members who are not members of Parliament, and (*b*) is not terminated by a dissolution of Parliament. On the other hand, the terms of the reference to a Select Committee may be discussed in the House of Commons, while the terms of reference to a Royal Commission may not. Such discussion had been promised more than once by members who wished for ampler enquiry than Sir H. Fowler was prepared to allow. On May 24th, 1895, therefore, a Royal Commission was appointed, and the terms of reference were as follows:—

"To enquire into the administration and management of the military and civil expenditure incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council, or of the Government of India, and the apportionment of charge between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of India for purposes in which both are interested."

Financial Machinery.

The first topic which calls for notice in the evidence taken by the Royal Commission, and the topic to which we confine ourselves for the moment, is the financial machinery of the Government of India. We point out elsewhere the nature of the problem which this section of the evidence presents to the Indian reform party, and show that both Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour are of opinion that the Government of India does not give sufficient attention to financial considerations. What is the remedy? Neither of them puts forward a complete and definite scheme of readjustment. But their evidence contains more than one important suggestion. Sir Auckland Colvin (Q. 3,123) thinks that the direction in which the remedy must be sought:—

"would be the strengthening of the financial interests in the Council of the Secretary of State, and ultimately in trying in some way, without undue interference with the authority of the Government of India, to establish a control emanating from what theoretically is at present the last court of control —Parliament."

Sir David Barbour enters into further detail as to the nature of this improved Parliamentary control. He says (Q. 2,235):

"I should think it would be a very good thing, especially as regards Indian affairs, if, when Parliament had to do with them, it appointed a Select Committee to report from time to time upon particular things; that, I think, would be very good. It would be most dangerous if Parliament interfered without first taking the report of a Select Committee or of some other special body."

But this Committee, apparently, should not in Sir D. Barbour's judgment deal with details but only with large financial issues. He says (Q. 2183):—

"I think that the general control of Parliament over Indian expenditure and over Indian matters generally is most valuable, and I should be very sorry to see India removed from that general control. But I must say that I think that when Parliament interferes in particular matters, it generally interferes on very insufficient information, and I am afraid that it does rather more harm than good. I have the highest opinion of the value of the general control of Parliament over Indian expenditure; I think I may say I have almost a terror of its interference in details."

These, it would seem, are the most important texts which Lord Welby and his colleagues will have to consider when they come to frame their recomendations as to financial machinery. Perhaps we may add another from Sir Auckland Colvin, who states (Q. 2912) that "from the point of view of finance the military department is the most disturbing." Here, for the moment, we leave the subject. Enough has been said to show that Sir A. Colvin and Sir David Barbour are prepared to go a long way in the direction of the proposal for a Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance, which was urged by the Indian Parliamentary Committee in the last debate on the Indian Budget. The Royal Commission resumes its sittings in January next. If it should draft an *interim* report on financial machinery, we trust that a majority of the members will realise the paramount importance of placing the salary of the Secretary of State for India upon the British Estimates.

The Expected Famine. As we go to press news of a slightly reassuring character reaches us with reference to the Indian Famine. Lord George Hamilton's latest telegram from the Viceroy is, it is true, hardly less dismal than its predecessors have been. But the Allahabad correspondent of the *Times*, under date November 22nd, telegraphs that a storm which two days before struck the Bombay coast caused rainfall throughout eastern Rajputana, and reached the western parts of the North-West Provinces; that good rain has fallen in Meerut and fair rain in Agra; and that there are signs that the rain may extend further. All this is very much to the good, and already we read such hopeful calculations as that "1½ in. of rain over the provinces within the next fortnight would reduce the difficulties by a half to three-quarters." It is earnestly to be hoped that this more sanguine tone will prove to be justified, and that the worst disasters may yet be averted. Meantime the Lord Mayor of London announces that he is in close touch with the Indian authorities and the Secretary of State, and that he will open a national relief fund "the moment they apprise him of the necessity for that course." Our readers will observe that a large part of our present issue is devoted to a topic which for the time being necessarily takes precedence of all others. To what is said elsewhere we may add here that the present is the time for bringing into full play the machinery which the Local Government Acts ought to have provided in India. We say "ought to have," for we fear that many magistrates have steadily set themselves to obstruct and minimise the proper working of the Acts. Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., has done good service in directing attention, in the letter which we reproduce on page 378, to the paramount importance of the native village system. In this connexion we may well refer to a lecture which he delivered before the London Institution in December, 1883, upon "The Indian Rayat as a Member of the Village Community." The Report of the Famine Commission was then recent. But Sir W. Wedderburn asked:—

"Have the people of England at all taken to heart the lessons taught by that enquiry? The enquiry showed that the existing system had entirely failed to prevent a most appalling loss of life. Do the people of England understand that what is wanted is a complete change of system? Do they realise that the cause of our failure is to be found not in the details but in the very principle of our official rule in India, which has upset all native methods and seeks to regulate according to European patterns the affairs of 250 millions of Orientals? . . . . It is the old fable of the bundle of sticks. Singly the Indian cultivator is weak and has but a feeble hold upon existence; united in the village community he is strong, both in his ordinary rustic well-being and in his power to resist the great periodical calamity of famine. But the very existence of the village system is threatened by the gradual encroachments of centralised departments, active and self-confident, very much in earnest, devoted to uniformity, and little inclined to tolerate either local peculiarities or local independence. Ever since the British rule has become consolidated, a struggle has been going on between these two forces; between Native local custom on the one hand, and European official innovation on the other. For the rayat this is a question of life and death."

How has the struggle ended? "In every department," Sir W. Wedderburn pointed out, "—land revenue, civil justice, forests, irrigation, police—we find that, with the best intentions and with immense official labour, we have broken up the solid old foundations and built upon the sand an alien system entirely distasteful to the people and unprofitable to ourselves." Is it not time to retrace our steps—which can be done "if we proceed with caution, and experimentally"?

The "Experts" Again. IN that singular document, the Agreement signed April, 1895, by Mr. Udney and the Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan (the Joint Commissioners for laying down the Afghan boundary from the Hindu Kush range to Nowar Kotal) the Bashgol stream is described as the river "which in the idiom of the Afghans is notorious and known as the Landai Sin pertaining to the limits of Kafiristan." As we mentioned last month Colonel Holdich, who was with Mr. Udney while the demarcation of the frontier was being carried out, recently announced a subsequent discovery of his of "one other very important" river of the same name, which, he says, is also called the Swat River. Whether this river is also "notorious in Afghan idiom" under the name of Landai Sin Colonel Holdich does not tell us. But as to whether the Bashgol stream of Kafiristan was really a household word among Afghans under the name of Landai Sin, we have been for some time a little suspicious. However this may be, we have now had given to us in the clearest terms, not only the meaning of the words Landai Sin, but also the description of the particular stream which has been generally known to the Afghans by that name from time immemorial. For this information we have reason to be grateful, especially as it comes from one whom we believe to be more intimately acquainted with the geography of the region lying immediately beyond the North-West frontier of India, as well as with the language, traditions and feelings of the wild Pathan tribes inhabiting that region, than any of the so-called frontier "experts" of the day. Major Raverty, a retired officer of the Bombay army, whose knowledge of the countries in question "with ample page rich with the spoils of time" dates back nearly half a century, writes in the *Geographical Journal* for November, with reference to this last "discovery," that any small river is called Landaey Sin (not Landai) by the Afghan people dwelling near it. "Land," Major Raverty explains, "is the

Pushto adjective for 'small,' 'little,' etc., and the diminutive form of that adjective is *Landaey* for the masculine singular, *Landai* for the feminine, and *Landi* for the plural, masculine and feminine. Sin or Sind, a corruption of the Sanskrit *Sindhu*, means a sea or river; consequently any small river would be called the Landaey Sin without that being the roper designation of that river."

The "Scientific" Frontier.

As to Colonel Holdich's "very important" Landai Sin being called also the Swat River, Major Raverty says that this is a great mistake, inasmuch as it is only after the Swat river has joined its waters with those of the Panj-Korah, and after they have united with the Kabul River at Do-bandi, that the stream flowing eastwards thence to Atak is called—and then only—the Landaey Sin or Little River, as distinguished from the Aba Sin or Father River—the Indus—into which the united streams fall at the latter place. This, *the* Landaey Sin, as we may now regard it, is shown, Major Raverty adds, in the map of the Mullah's Explorations in 1876. In "An Account of the Province of Peshawur" published in 1852 in the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, Major Raverty described the Landaey Sin, as it was also further described by him in no fewer than three different works of his published subsequent to 1852. It would, in fact, seem that Major Raverty knew all about the river known to the Afghan people generally under the the name of Landaey Sin before probably many of the frontier "experts" of the present day were born. Under the circumstances we can be scarcely wrong in believing that if there is any stream in the country of the Pathan tribes dwelling north of Peshawur that can claim to be generally known to them under the name of Landaey Sin it is that portion of the Kabul river that flows between Do-bandi and Atak. All the more puzzling, therefore, is it to account for the Eastern water-shed of the Bashgol river of Kafiristan, a district then peopled by Kafirs, and in which no Afghan at that time dared to show his face, being described in the Agreement of April, 1895, as the Landai Sin "notorious in Afghan idiom." Was it for this reason that the British Commissioner agreed then and there to the people of the valley being handed over to the Afghans, their hereditary foes, without a thought as to what the fate of these poor people would be? It is difficult to believe this; but yet the thing was done, making manifest the political ineptitude of the whole of our transactions with the Amír Abdur Rahman Khan, dating from the so-called Durand Agreement of November, 1893, as well as the folly and wickedness that have attended our proceedings beyond the proper frontier of India ever since that date. As to the "Scientific Frontier," it would be hard for the most ardent advocate of our progressive policy of recent years to show the appropriateness of the term in reference to the drawing of that frontier, as settled with the Amír Abdur Rahman Khan by the Agreements of 1893 and 1895. For so far from being scientific, these settlements, it is now clear, were rather in the first instance a yielding on our part to secure certain imaginary ends of our own; and in the second, a still further yielding, pusillanimous in character and attended by a recklessness as to results so far as the fate of the Kafir race was concerned, in order to appease one whom at the time we were extremely anxious not to offend.

"Why are we Suspected?"

The agitation in the United Kingdom against the Armenian atrocities has had the effect of provoking a good deal of Continental criticism. Russia and France, and, still more, Germany and Austria have not, so far as their quasi-official Press is concerned, been willing to assume the complete disinterestedness of British motives, and English statesmen—Mr. Goschen, for example—have been addressing themselves to the question, "Why are we suspected?" Madame Novikoff, in the *Daily News*, has undertaken to explain "why there is this astonishing and obstinate refusal to believe" that Englishmen mean what they say. She writes:—

> Yes, indeed, we do not believe what you say, and I will frankly tell you why it is so. Because you hardly ever do what you say, but generally do something else, something startlingly unexpected. It may be not your fault, but your misfortune, that if you compare your words with your deeds, somehow they very seldom agree. It may be due to adverse destinies, but when we compare your promises with your performances, again they are seldom identical. The boy in the fable who cried "Wolf" so often when no wolf was in the sheepfold had all his sheep devoured when the wolf really came, for no one would believe him any more. So it may be that you are quite sincere to-day, but we, who remember yesterday, cannot help feeling sceptical.

Our only comment upon these remarks shall be a "deadly parallel":—

Viceroy's Proclamation, 1895.	Queen's Speech, 1896.
"The sole object of the Government of India is to put an end to the present, and prevent any future, unlawful aggression on Chitral territory, and, *as soon as this object has been attained, the force will be withdrawn.* The Government of India have no intention of permanently occupying any territory through which Umra Khan's misconduct may now force them to pass."	"On the north-west frontier of my Indian Empire the measures taken last year to secure an effective control over Chitral have been successful."

"Tales of Ind."

Mr. T. Ramakrishna, the author of "Tales of Ind and other Poems" (T. Fisher Unwin), is favourably known as the writer of a prose work on village life in South India, and won the approval of no less an authority than the late Lord Tennyson for his poetry. Poems that have been described by so exalted a critic as "interesting and remarkable" do not need commendation from less distinguished sources, and their author would do well to rely upon the late Laureate's testimonial rather than on the oracular verdict of a Madras paper that he has "minted at the forge of Tennyson the sentiments of Oliver Goldsmith, Parnell, and Byron." Lord Tennyson's epithets were doubtless chosen with care. Judged by the standard of absolute attainment, to which all poetry that claims the right to survive has eventually to submit, these "Tales of Ind" would have little claim to notice. They are neither better nor worse than a hundred other volumes of minor poetry, that live their little day and are buried and forgotten. But poems that are without absolute importance may still have considerable importance historically or personally; and so it is with these. As the production in English of a native Hindu, they are highly interesting. They are an experiment by an Oriental in western literature; and though they deal exclusively in Indian themes, they are full of the influence of English poetry, especially of Lord Tennyson. It is, however, not the Tennyson of the "Idylls of the King" who is recalled by these lines, as one or two Indian critics think, but the Tennyson of the earlier English Idylls—of such a poem as "Dora." The stories are, one and all, extremely simple in plot and treatment. The total absence of anything like affectation or straining after effect is one of the most delightful features of the volume. On the other hand, the paucity and poverty of the metaphors are somewhat disappointing: the Occidental who is in search of a happy hunting ground of rich Oriental imagery must turn his attention elsewhere. The English style is remarkably good, and the blank verse, though not always faultless (there is a tendency to weak endings such as "of" and "it" which the author should guard against), is not a hindrance to the narrative. The first story, "Seeta and Rama," has a pathetic interest just now, for it is a story of an Indian famine. Seeta is the daughter of the schoolmaster in an Indian village which is desolated by the scourge. The whole village is broken up, and Seeta, separated from her friends and from her lover Rama, takes refuge in a famine camp. To this camp, after a long interval, comes a youth emaciated by famine. He is tenderly nursed there, and Seeta's heart goes out to him strangely, though she fails to recognise in him her old lover until after his recovery to health. "Prince Désing" is a story of wifely devotion: the prince goes out to battle against a Moslem invader, and is killed, and his wife refuses to survive him. "Rudra" is the tale of a shipwrecked merchant who, like Enoch Arden, returns to his home after many years; he imagines that he has found his wife unfaithful, but is happily saved from avenging himself in his haste on an innocent woman, by finding on a palm-leaf the words, "Think well before you do." "The Royal Huntress" is another idyll of woman's devotion; and the same description applies to "Chandra: a tale of the field of Tellikóta, A.D. 1565," the longest and most ambtious story in the book. Chandra is the wife of a brave warrior Timmaraj, who is killed by the treachery of a rival, Bukka, after several exciting adventures. More interesting, however, than any of Mr. Ramakrishna's original verse is the poem that concludes the volume—a translation of the lullaby sung by the Korathy of the Indian village to soothe the feelings of the maiden who is submitting to the painful operation of tattooing. The first stanza may be quoted here, for its own interest, and also as a specimen of the author's versification.

> "Stay, darling, stay—'tis only for an hour,
> And you will be the fairest of the fair.
> Your lotus eyes can soothe the savage beast,
> Your lips are like the newly blossomed rose,
> Your teeth—they shine like pearls; but what are they
> Before the beauties of my handiwork?"

"India" for 1897.

The start of a new volume always offers to those who are responsible for a periodical publication a favourable opportunity for the introduction of new features and the improvement of features that are no longer new. We shall hope—*who* is a stranger to hopes at the beginning of a New Year?—to turn the opportunity to account. To how much account remains, of course, to be seen. We may mention, however, that a scheme has for some time past been under consideration by which the general appearance of India might be improved, and certain economies, especially in postage, effected without any substantial reduction in the quantity of matter now printed in the journal. If it should prove that such a scheme is practicable—a scheme, that is, by which there would be much to gain and nothing to lose—it would not improbably be adopted. In that case our readers will not be surprised if India for 1897 makes its appearance in a slightly altered form.

"Those of our countrymen who were beginning to think that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's absence from St. Stephen's enforced a sort of unwelcome idleness on him will see their mistake on turning to the pages of India for the current month. Therein the reader will see our Nestor of Indian Politics hard at work, heckling Lord Wolseley and several members of Lord Welby's Commission on Indian Expenditure, including the worthy President himself, and at the same time drawing out the Civil Service Commissioners.—*Indian Spectator*, October 25.

HEALTH MISSIONERS FOR RURAL INDIA.

By Miss Florence Nightingale.

In a former paper contributed to India I made some suggestions for improving the health of Indian rural villages. My proposal was that a system of simple and popular health lectures should be organised, to show the villagers the need of (*a*) a pure water supply, (*b*) the removal of refuse, and (*c*) the diminution of overcrowding; these lectures being given from village to village by men well versed themselves in the principles of sanitation, and knowing the habits of the people and able to sympathise with them and help them, without offending their prejudices. It was suggested that the village schoolrooms might be utilised for the lectures, which might be made attractive by object-lessons with the magic lantern, showing by the help of microscopic slides the noxious living organisms in foul air and water. But it was pointed out that the lecture would be only the first beginning of the teaching; a lecturer who had made himself acceptable to the people would go round the village and show the people how to dispose of their refuse; he would explain to them the danger of depositing it in their little close courtyards, and how the solid should be separated from liquid excreta. Then he would go with them to examine the water supply, and show them certain simple precautions to be observed: not washing near the supply of drinking water, and not allowing human beings or cattle to foul the river, tank, or well. The Hindu religion enjoins so much purity and cleanliness that I thought the influence of the religious teachers and of the Caste Pancháyats might be usefully appealed to. To show how much may be done for the Indian peasant—who is thought so unpersuadable—by the vigour of sympathy, may I mention an instance of a sanitary officer in India, now alas! dead, who, when he came into office, found the rural people sacrificing with flowers and fruits at the shrines of the Goddess of Smallpox and the Goddess of (whatever they call it) Cholera; and how, long before he left, they came to him, if there had been four or five deaths from cholera,—"Sahib, bestir yourself, don't you see we're all dead?" Another instance of the work of the same man is, how he moved a village in one night which had been decimated by cholera and fever for one hundred years, and which successive Governments, native and British, had in vain attempted to move: in vain, because it was clustered round a temple of great sanctity; and he, by persuading the Pancháyat, moved them to a site of his own choosing; and he came in the morning, and they were all, goods and all, settled in upon the new and safe site. He knew what he wanted to do and how to do it! Is it not the case that we sometimes call people unpersuadable when we do not sufficiently try to look at the matter from their point of view? Do we not sometimes come into fatal collision with prejudices which have in them a grain of truth, because we do not have patience to seek out that truth?

I am painfully aware how difficult, how almost impossible, it is for any one at a great distance to do anything to help forward a movement requiring unremitting labour and supervision on the spot. But it is my privilege to meet in England from time to time Indian friends who are heartily desirous of obtaining for their poorer fellow countrymen the benefits which, through sanitary science, are gradually being extended to the masses here, both in town and country, and which are doing so much to promote their health and happiness; so I never lose an opportunity of urging a practical beginning, however small, for it is wonderful how often in such matters the mustard seed germinates, and roots itself, and at last produces an overshadowing tree. I should like to see such experiments tried in different provinces and under various conditions. As regards the Bombay Presidency I have been so fortunate as to obtain the powerful aid of Mr. B. M. Malabari, who has recently paid his periodical visit to England, and with whom I have had the opportunity of full consultation. And I do not think I shall be betraying confidence if I say that he is turning his special attention to Guzarat and Sind, and will probably make his first attempt by establishing small committees at Rajkot, Ahmedabad, Surat, and Haidarabad in Sind. The watchword is, Small beginnings under favourable circumstances. "Let us begin somehow," he says, "in the name of God, the beginner of good life and good work. Let us cast the seed in the most congenial soil we can find. What pleasure it will be to watch this seed germinate, shoot up the tiny flower, and in time bear the much needed fruit! This is a beautiful process, and the only one that is natural. It will repay us abundantly; the growth we seek will be real and lasting.' The programme he suggests is modest and practical. He proposes to raise a small fund, say Rs. 1,200 or 2,000, for the expenses of the first year. When that has been collected and a local committee is formed, the next step would be to prepare a simple sanitary primer suitable to the local requirements, and to have it translated into the vernacular languages of the district, with a view to its distribution among the rural villages. Then arises the most important part of the work, that of securing Health Missioners for select localities. Mr. Malabari would have them married men, whose wives would accompany them and preach health and cleanliness amongst the village women. In this proposal I would most heartily concur. Indeed from my point of view, to enlist the sympathy

and gain the approval of the good mother who rules the home, is the keystone of the whole position. If her authority is on our side I feel little fear for the result. Then it is proposed that the Health Missioners should send in monthly reports to the committee, who would publish and circulate the most interesting portions, especially to Local Boards and to sanitary and medical officers. If the movement commended itself to the villagers and to the public generally, the Government might, at the end of the year, be asked to consider the best means of further promoting it.

Such is an outline of the proposals sketched out by Mr. Malabari. It is essentially a scheme of self-help, but it also contemplates recognition by Government. And this seems the right means to attain success: local effort, strengthened and stimulated by the great central authority. Happily there is no doubt of the good-will of Government in this matter of village sanitation; successive Viceroys have shown an anxious desire to deal effectively with this most difficult problem; and a solid foundation for future proceedings is being laid by the excellent "Village Sanitary Inspection Books," which are being introduced for the purpose of collecting and storing precise information regarding the condition of each village. Every sanitarian who reads the Government of India letter of 8th March, 1895 (which is printed at p. 367 for ready reference) will be struck by the thoroughly practical and suggestive character of the various "points" to which attention is drawn. It will be observed that the Government propose to introduce the system of Inspection Books tentatively in selected villages, which will be conveniently grouped, and marked off in the official maps. Such selected villages would be specially suitable for the operation of our voluntary committees, which would be in a position to assist the villagers in accurately compiling the information required by the Government; and doubtless the local officers would gladly include in a group of selected villages any locality which the Committee may choose for the scene of their labours. The Health Missioner in such places would occupy a most useful position—in touch with the villagers on the one hand and with the Sanitary and District Officers on the other. And by gaining the confidence of the people he could act as an interpreter as regards their habits, wishes, and prejudices in such a way as to remove friction and promote useful work.

Many of the "Points" are of an intricate kind, needing much careful local observation. Take for example Point 4, which deals with the character of the soil, and its tendency to retain moisture, or otherwise; and the question is asked whether there is any obstruction to drainage by roads, railways, embankments, or other works. Here many interesting considerations arise. In fever-stricken villages the soil about the houses may be saturated with noxious matter, or the whole neighbourhood may be so waterlogged, owing to embankments or large tanks in the vicinity, as to produce malarial fever. In this connexion it would be interesting to ascertain from the villagers what, according to their idea, are the causes of local unhealthiness, and what are the medicines and modes of treatment adopted by them in case of illness. Point 8, again, refers to the all-important question of the water-supply, and its proper use by the inhabitants, and here also there is need for constant watchfulness, in order to ascertain whether the people really take trouble to get their drinking water pure, or whether they are content to go on in the old way, taking into their bodies, by means of impure water, the germs of fever and other destructive maladies. It is only by the constant care of the people themselves that a tank or stream, nominally set apart for drinking purposes, can be effectually protected from pollution by liquid refuse, clothes washing, and the intrusion of cattle. And the people will not take this care unless convinced of its vital necessity for themselves and their children. Here therefore instruction and persuasion by friendly and familiar advisers are urgently needed. The vital question of conservancy, including the disposal of house and kitchen refuse, is dealt with in Point 9. This is a matter which depends so much on local conditions and the habits of the people, that too great pains cannot be taken in order to discover in each locality what is the most suitable method of obtaining satisfactory results. In this, as in most of the other matters, it is the peasant woman who, in the rural villages, holds the key either to health or disease.

I have put together these few rough notes in the hope that the leaders of Indian public opinion about to meet in Congress at Calcutta will take up this question, and with their special knowledge and experience will guide our steps in a matter so deeply affecting the welfare of the Indian masses.

THE COMING CONGRESS.

By A. O. Hume, C.B.

The twelfth Indian National Congress is now about to be held, and we might all rejoice that in India, where men's words are writ in water—their works even in sand—this great movement for the political enfranchisement of India's people has so long maintained its vitality. There is, as might have been expected, less open enthusiasm, and perhaps less activity, than there was in the good old days when our adversaries were rampant and reckless, and when, as in the times of the fighting fourth Congress,

the very existence of our party depended on all standing shoulder to shoulder, and fighting as one man to uphold the people's rights. The opposition, as an opposition, has disappeared; only here and there its ghost gibbers in some Anglo-Indian newspaper's columns, or, crawling craftily out of sight, seeks to blight, by falsehood and slander, what it no longer dares to attack openly. Success, beyond what any of us who met at Bombay some twelve years ago dared even to hope for, has attended its progress; public opinion here has veered round in its favour; its once blatant opponents are dumb, or, at the most, can only stutter out stereotyped abuse that has, years ago, lost alike force and meaning. Perhaps as a necessary consequence men may have grown somewhat less active in a cause which seems to them to have less need of champions, and with no open opponents near them to struggle against, may have taken to bickering amongst themselves about matters wholly outside the scope of our movement. But even if this be so, as some tell us, our good Congress, the germ of future federated parliaments, is, as all can see, ever sending out its roots deeper and deeper into the nation's heart, becoming more and more truly national, and, full of self-confidence, prepared to meet whatever the future may have in store for it.

All this might, despite temporary discouragements here and there, gladden to its core the heart of every true old Congressman, were there not other aspects of the case to sadden and discourage him. Who that has fought from the outset in this great bloodless battle for justice and freedom, but now, looking round, must deplore the absence of many dear comrades—comrades never more to raise their hands or voices in their country's cause, never more to gladden our hearts with their cheery co-operation? It is not only leaders like Ajoodhia Nath, Telang, Mano Mohan Ghose, and others, but scores and scores of the rank-and-file, no less devoted, no less single-hearted, that we miss and sigh for. And these have gone, so many of our best and truest, and with all their and our efforts, so small a portion of our great task seems yet to have been accomplished! Will our rising generation fill the vacant places with hearts as honest, as true, as unselfish?

Such thoughts might well give us pause amidst our rejoicings on this twelfth anniversary, even were nought else amiss, but as it is all minor sources of anxiety are overshadowed by the cloud now impending over our beloved land, in which we too plainly discern the gloomy spectre of famine frowning down upon us. We are in God's hands, and it may be that this cup will pass away from us, that the coming calamity may tread but lightly on our sacred soil; or, alas! it may be that the terrible scenes which painted misgovernment in all its blackest hues on Southern India, scarce a score of years ago, may in the coming year be reproduced in all their horror in the North.

God grant poor India deliverance from the—to human eyes—all too certainly impending trouble. But whether it be so or no, let every true lover of India read the lesson that will be written in either case in giant letters throughout the land. Whatever Great Britain has done or left undone where India is concerned, she has at least placed largely at her command the triumphs of Western science, and, though it may be largely for selfish purposes, has so endowed her with roads, bridges, railways, canals and other irrigation works, telegraphs and, above all, the most magnificent fleet of merchant steamers that the world can as yet conceive, that, with decent government, there could remain no *chance* even of famine amidst a teeming, frugal and ceaselessly industrious population like that of India. Scarcity there might conceivably be, high prices extending over vast areas we must at lengthy intervals be prepared for, but famine and actual starvation on a large scale would, with existing resources and good government during the last forty years, have become quite impossible.

But instead of a good Government there has been in the most vitally essential point a bad Government—an extravagant Government, a Government that devours the territory of its weaker neighbours and for a pretence makes long prayers.

And when I speak of Government, I do not refer to this man or that, to this party or that—I speak of the system of Government as a whole which has prevailed during the last forty years. Many righteous men and rulers have worked in and under that system, but the system has ever been iniquitous. For that system has its basis in extorting from a loyal, law-abiding, peaceful, industrious people by a set of strangers, barely knowing the language of our people and wholly ignorant of their domestic lives, just as much money as in their infinite ignorance and unmeasured ambition they thought they wanted; allowing to those poor taxpayers no voice however small as to what they should pay, or how they should pay it, or still more as to how what they paid should be spent. It has hence necessarily been a fiscal tyranny of the worst character, and the result has been that, doubtless with plenty of hell's pavement, good intentions, these strangers have multiplied demands on India, till the masses, at any rate, say at *least* one hundred millions of the people, live ever from hand to mouth and have absolutely no reserve to fall back upon in the event of any seasonal calamity.

When I went to India in 1849 there was not a tolerably well-to-do cultivator in any part of Northern India who had not, stored away in a grain pit somewhere about his premises, at least a six months'

supply of grain for himself and family. After the Mutiny, in which tens of thousands of villages were burnt (partly by our troops and bands of robbers, but chiefly by the people themselves in local quarrels and contests), there was no great suffering from want of food. The fire over—the enemy passed on—the grain was dug up, and there was food for months, and seed grain for the next harvest. Now, not one per cent. of the cultivators have even a month's supply of grain.

This change, though many causes have contributed to it, has its root in the increase of taxation. Where in old days there was one hole at the bottom of the bucket, to this a dozen smaller holes have now been added—mostly by Government, though some by money lenders, the growth of our hard-and-fast Revenue system.

But (someone says) "the Government *had* to get money; they had to create the railroads and canals and the like, for which you give them credit. At any rate, they have given good value for the money." Yes, no doubt, for the money they thus spent. But they might have spent this much—aye, and twice as much—on like profitable works, and the country would have been none the worse, nay, would have been greatly the better. It is not *this* money that has drained the masses dry. No, it is the countless millions that have been poured into the insatiable military maw here and in India; that have been devoted to keeping up a disproportionately expensive civil service; that the Government has spent to enable it to shake its fist across the frontier at the Russians, and so pretend that it was not afraid, while all the while it was horribly afraid. Reasonably enough, too, for its guilty conscience told it how badly it had treated the people, and, loyal as they are as a whole, it could never believe this, and was, and is, quite as much afraid of them as of the Russians. And so, in a sort of mad despair, it has gone on adding regiment to regiment, battery to battery, fort to fort, and strategical (non-reproductive) railway to strategical railway. If the people had had any voice in their taxation, if they had had any share in the expenditure, all this might long ago have been checked. As it is, it has gone on until nearly half the population are so pauperised that any failure of crops signifies starvation, unless gigantic and ruinous official efforts are put forth to prevent it.

There may be no bad famine this time. God grant it may be so. Or there *may* be. But in either case the fear in which we now stand of this dread calamity, and the calamity itself, if come it must, have their origin simply and solely in the mistaken system on which the Government of India is based, of placing the entire resources of 250 millions of people at the irresponsible disposal of aliens, ignorant alike of the wants, the necessities, the real condition, in a word of the entire inner life, of that great nation, and saturated (though they barely dare to confess it) with the insane delusion that India is to be ruled for the glory of Great Britain and not, first and foremost, for the good of her people.

If, now, there be any Congressman growing apathetic in the work, any becoming wearied in the struggle, wherein so much has to be sacrificed and so little seems as yet to have been won, let him take it to heart. There *may* be no *very* bad time this year; but such a bad time is certain to come, pauperised as India's masses now are, within a very few years, and with it thousands and thousands of cruel deaths and bitter suffering and enfeebled constitutions to millions. And year by year the danger will grow, and the longer the catastrophe is delayed the more terrible it will be when it comes, unless and until we can force the British National conscience to realise the injustice and the iniquity of the present system, and induce that nation to concede to India's people those elementary rights which all but slaves are supposed to possess, and thus put the Indians in the way of helping to direct wisely those great Indian affairs which they, the British people, have no time to attend to, but for the right guidance of which, none the less, they are answerable before man—and God.

And how can this British National conscience be awakened and impressed? Only, to begin with, by the more complete and harmonious co-operation of all our leaders and workers; by the development of a purer and higher patriotism which, allowing a second place only to personal aims and feelings, looks first and foremost to India's good; by an increased and ever increasing zeal and activity, all India's more favoured (because educated) sons bestirring themselves in real earnest, persisting with ever growing fervency in their Congresses and Conferences, in their petitions to Parliament, in their support of the British Committee (which ought to be put in the way of working far more effectively than it now does or can), by themselves coming to England and pouring into the people's ears, here, the truth about their country's wrongs and the unjust and cruel disabilities under which they and their fellow countrymen suffer.

Year by year in India untold millions live and die miserably, solely by reason of a bad system of Government. Assuredly, at the hands of each responsible for this ocean of suffering, God will demand the due penalty. He alone can tell how the blame may be apportioned, but this we know, that amongst those who expiate elsewhere this great national crime will be found, assuredly, those educated sons of India who—understanding the matter, but allowing their souls to be entangled in self, in the cares

of this world, the struggles for money and office, place and power—neglect to devote an ample share of their time and talents and wealth to the effort to secure for their country and their fellows that improved system of Government to the lack of which we ever owe incalculable suffering, and may, too probably, next year owe the blackest bitterness of famine.

THE LATE MR. MANOMOHAN GHOSE.

By Sir John B. Phear,
Late Chief Justice of Ceylon.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the loss which the cause of progress in India has sustained by the sad death of Mr. Manomohan Ghose. My personal acquaintance with Mr. Ghose commenced so far back as November 1866, just thirty years ago, upon his return to Calcutta from England, where he had resided the previous four or five years, engaged in simultaneously preparing for the Indian Civil Service Examinations and keeping terms at Lincoln's Inn. To his great disappointment at the time he failed of success in the Civil Service competition, but was called to the Bar at Midsummer 1866. How often he must have rejoiced in after life that his early aspirations had been thus thwarted.

The readers of India all know and need hardly here be reminded of the distinguished place which Mr. Ghose eventually secured and has for many years past maintained in the front rank of his profession: and the seeming universality of the cry of mourning, which we are informed has gone up in almost every part of India on the telegraphic announcement of his unexpected death, testifies eloquently to the esteem which he had won for himself in the hearts of his countrymen of all the more advanced nationalities. To understand the peculiar warmth of the regard in which he was so widely held, is not difficult for those who through the opportunities of private friendship have been enabled to recognise in him the sterling qualities of an exceptionally unselfish and noble character. If any man can without qualification deserve the epithets true and good, they pre-eminently belong to him.

His sympathies were ever with the poor and the helpless. And in the course of his extensive practice in the criminal courts of the Mofussil he became painfully impressed with the far too frequent cases, which came under his observation, of injustice and oppression, plainly attributable to ill-judged interference on the part of authority and the faulty working of the inferior courts. He was thus led to devote himself with his accustomed energy to the promotion of the movement for reform of the judicial system in India by the simple and obviously desirable expedient of freeing the minor criminal courts from dependence on the executive, of which so much has lately been heard. The columns of India are not strangers to the somewhat lively controversy to which Mr. Ghose's powerful advocacy of the proposed change has given rise. It was perhaps natural that the proposal should meet with strenuous opposition from those whose care seems to be rather for the sacredness of official authority than the ends for which it exists; but the not very worthy methods by which it has been sought to minimise and invalidate the case that has been built up by Mr. Ghose out of materials largely furnished by his professional experience, if they have done but little else, have served at least to show by their conspicuous failure how complete and impregnable that case is in itself, and how little, fortunately, it now needs the sustaining support of his strong hand. Still sad, indeed, it is that he has not lived to carry out to its final stages the cause which he had so greatly at heart and which he has done so much to advance.

In their habits of daily life Mr. and Mrs. Ghose have conformed entirely to the ways and usages of cultivated European society, and have in all particulars shared the social sentiments of the higher ranks of English people. But this assimilation to the ruling class in India, real as it has been, in no degree weakened Mr. Ghose's patriotic feelings or loosened the ties which bound him to his own people. It was not long before his countrymen discovered that his English education and his association upon equal terms with the members of the governing class, which they at first regarded with dislike and suspicion, was consistent with firm loyalty to national interests and did but fit him the more advantageously for guiding and taking effective part in the popular movement of the day.

It was perhaps attributable to the practical teaching of legal experience that Mr. Ghose was ever ready to treat the case of his opponent with respect, and the great personal influence which he undoubtedly enjoyed both as an advocate and as a politician was in large measure due to the fairness and the absence of exaggeration by which his arguments and statements were on all occasions characterised.

Mr. Ghose's public work was not confined to the provinces of law and politics. His stay in England had enabled him to perceive and appreciate the grave disability under which a people lay for whom education was limited to the stronger sex; and on his return to Bengal he not only took steps, under the guidance of English friends, to secure the best available English education for his betrothed wife, but he joined and zealously co-operated with the small group of younger men who were even then braving social ostracism—notable among them

Babu Sasipada Banerji with his pioneer work at Baranagar—in their efforts, notwithstanding enormous difficulties, at establishing effective means of education for their adult countrywomen. It was to Mr. Ghose that Miss Ackroyd owed the opportunities which enabled her, aided by a sympathetic committee of both Native and European members, to institute and conduct with marked success at Calcutta the Hindu Mahila Bidyalaya, which was essentially a high class boarding school or college for grown-up native women—distinguished, it may be remarked, from any missionary school in this particular, namely, that while private devotion was encouraged, all interference with the religious faith of the individual students was strictly prohibited. This school, after a separate and successful career of some years, eventually became added as an adult department to the well-known Bethune School for Girls under Government control, and Mr. Ghose, I believe, continued to have a leading voice in its management.

Modest and unpretending of address as Mr. Ghose ever was, and caring little as he did to seek the adventitious aid of the eloquence which fascinates rather then persuades, it was his strong sound sense and the conscientious thoroughness of his work which constituted his especial excellence and caused him to become the popular and trusted leader alike in the courts of justice, in politics and in the cause of education. He has left behind him a name and reputation which are not only dear to those, who have been so fortunate as to know him with the intimacy of private friendship, but which will also surely live in the memory of his countrymen, the subject of their just pride, and an example of citizenship for their emulation.

> "As one lamp lights another, nor grows less
> So nobleness enkindleth nobleness."

THE APPROACH OF FAMINE.

I.—Retrospect: By an Anglo-Indian.

Indian famines, their proximate cause, scope, intensity, and consequences, can best be understood by comparison of one with another. For my present purpose, and in such concise manner as only is possible in the space, it will suffice to note the differences that appear in comparing the famine in Orissa in 1866; in Behar, 1874; and that in Madras and the Deccan in 1876-8.

In the first of these instances, though the scarcity was caused by drought in the closing months of 1865, the heaviest mortality was due to lack of prevision by the Bengal authorities, together with the sudden and heavy rainfall of the north-east monsoon in the January following. Sir Cecil Beadon, who then ruled at Calcutta, was a man of a sanguine and hopeful disposition. His Revenue Board, anxious to avoid outlay, disregarded warnings that came from missionaries and other non-officials in Orissa—which warnings were plainly confirmed by starving Oryias crowding into Calcutta—so that between the two, precious time was lost in disputes about supply and demand and other pottering. Sir Cecil Beadon did take a hasty trip down to Cuttack; but the local officials had taken the cue that famine was not desired. Sir Cecil returned to assure his colleagues that there was no occasion for alarm, that local effort would suffice. The rains came, the floods descended, road traffic was impossible, and the province was sealed up to its fate. Some desperate efforts were made at this thirteenth hour to get food into the province by sea, but no appreciable help could be afforded in that way. The mortality due to hunger was officially computed at one million, or 1 in $3\frac{3}{4}$ of the population of the province in its three divisions of Balassore, Cuttack, and Puri. Sir John Lawrence, anxiously watching from remote Simla, had been obliged to accept reports from the Lieutenant-Governor. When afterwards he found how the facts had been misunderstood, and the truth withheld, he was exceedingly wroth. So was Lord Cranborne, then for the first time Secretary of State for India. A great inquest was held in the form of a Commission of Enquiry of which the late Sir George Campbell, then more of a Punjabi than a Bengal Civilian, was the strongest member. That Commission's full and careful Report presents the first really serious effort to deal with the Indian famine problem as a whole. Though superseded by the more comprehensive enquiries of the Royal Commission on the far larger disaster of 1877-8, that earlier Report laid the foundation of the complete Famine Code which is in full working order at the present crisis. Still before this ultimate result was reached, the problem of famine management had to go through two other stages.

What followed affords a typical illustration of the essential defects in Indian administration that are inevitable, in one form or other, in the absence of that saving balance-wheel—timely publicity and well-informed public opinion. On the first alarm of failure of the rains towards the close of 1873 in Behar, Tirhut, and western Bengal, the authorities concerned, Lord Northbrook in India and the Duke of Argyll as Secretary of State, rose at once to the occasion. His Grace urged that the Indian Government should "not shrink from using every available means, at whatever cost [to India] to prevent, so far as could be done, any loss of the lives of her Majesty's subjects in consequence of the calamity." Lord Northbrook zealously applied this principle; the "supply and demand" doxy was scorned, immense purchases of rice (ill-suited though that grain was for most of the affected districts) were entered into, and—Sir Richard Temple was appointed Famine Delegate, with unlimited powers. With his usual energy he set himself to carry out "master's orders" to the very letter, with little if any regard to local enquiry or precautionary checks. By the time he had begun to scatter bags of rice over Behar it was seen that the scarcity was not nearly so severe as had been feared; but orders had to be carried out. Thus *Vanity Fair*, when, long afterwards, depicting

Sir Richard in its cartoon, recorded as his chief title to fame, "he invented famines." The lavish expenditure on this occasion appears in the Financial Statement of 1874-5 at 6½ millions sterling. Late in the latter year the present writer was shown in the bonded warehouse at Calcutta vast piles of bags of rice which even Sir Richard had been unable to force on the "suffering" districts.

Thus, in spite of the well intentioned zeal of the responsible authorities, the "Behar famine"—of which we can find no bill of mortality—became a scandal and byword. Then, mainly for lack of the balance-wheel aforesaid, reaction took possession of the financial authorities. The true lessons of Orissa were forgotten; so that when four or five years later the really appalling devastation in Madras and eastern Bombay was coming down on southern India as a dense pall of doom for hapless millions, the gods on far Olympus nursed their scepticism, in spite of ample warnings from the Press and non-official testimony. Thus the whole dire problem had to be worked through afresh. The gods had other business on hand just then. The grand theatrical demonstration at Delhi of the Queen-Empress's Proclamation had to be organised: and the disastrous invasion of Afghanistan was being sedulously worked up to. But the gaunt spectre would brook no denial. When it was seen that the north-east monsoon, due in the early months of 1877, had failed in Madras and the Deccan, hope deserted that immense tract of the Empire—the earth was iron and the sky brass. Meantime the fatal reaction of scepticism aforesaid still lingered in the minds of the authorities; and the financial bogey haunted Sir John Strachey who was then the chief Civilian power in the State. To combat that bogey was Sir John's chief thought; and he hit upon the expedient of sending Sir Richard, not so much to fight the famine as to check the outlay that would be inevitable. This duty the Delegate set himself to perform in southern India with as much zeal and energy as he had exerted four years before in Behar to spend relief funds without stint through imperfectly organised methods. His mission now in 1877-8 was to stint, if possible, and to restrict the organisation already arranged by the Madras district officers. He was assisted by a strong personal staff, including the present Sir Charles Bernard and an officer of Engineers. His first survey of the field was in January 1877, and this is how he did it—

"With rapidity unexampled, and at too great a speed to secure the object in view, namely, a thorough acquaintance with the real state of the country, Sir Richard and his staff literally raced over the affected districts, caused reductions to be made in gratuitous relief, struck large numbers of people off works, wrote numberless and very long minutes and memoranda, and in three months finished their task. The Delegate's energy was praiseworthy, his intentions admirable; but his performance occasionally otherwise."

It was obvious that he failed to "grasp the real facts of the situation."

It is not needful to follow the painful and dismal history of the 1877-8 famine in southern India. The chief points are Sir Richard Temple's "one pound ration" and the controversies that raged around it; the methods of supply and distribution when all normal trading operations had lapsed; the Viceroy, Lord Lytton's too long delayed visit to the famine field, personally atoned for by his own generous contribution to the relief fund when once opened; the official objections against appealing for public charity until outflanked by the Duke of Buckingham's telegram to the Lord Mayor, and the noble response in the Mansion House Fund, which, together with the Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Colonial contributions, yielded over £700,000. The net results of that famine of 1876-8 were—*mortality* 5,250,000 souls, besides about a million and a quarter in the North-West Provinces and Oudh; *cost* to the Indian Government in direct relief expenditure £11,000,000.

The area affected by the present drought stretches from the northern portion of the Madras presidency, through the eastern part of the Central Provinces, Behar, and Hindustan proper, up to the eastern half of the Punjab. In that area dwell some eighty millions of people, of whom fully one-fourth are suffering more or less from severe privation. Within that area there are some tracts where distress will be mitigated by the blessings of irrigation and water storage. Since 1878 nearly Rx. six millions have been spent from the Famine Insurance Fund on so-called "protective" railways; but barely two millions on irrigation works—the one great material want of India. As already indicated, the one gain to set off against the dismal records of former famines is that the plans and methods for coping with hunger and privation are in as good working order as codified paper regulations can be; and there is no ground for doubting the earnest desire of the present authorities to give full effect to those regulations without any of the fatal stinting which enormously increased the mortality in 1877-8. It only remains for British citizens to consider what is the duty that lies on them in the direction of voluntary contributions. As to the economic side of the problem of Indian famines, the question of all others—why and how it is that so large a proportion of our fellow-subjects in India should be so destitute of reserve resources as to succumb at the first touch of real scarcity—is another story, the depth and significance of which cannot be here described.

II.—By an English Onlooker.

The famine presaged by the scarcity in the North-West Provinces during the past summer, confidently anticipated and carefully prepared for during the last two or three months, is now an accomplished fact. Since September the prices of wheat and other grains have steadily risen throughout the districts visited by the terrible famine of 1877, and the cotton crop has proved deficient, but to what extent still remains to be seen. The latest reports indicate that the distress, at first confined to the Central Provinces and the North-West, has invaded the Konkan, the Deccan, the Karnatic, and Northern Burma. Riots of serious dimensions have occurred at Sholapur, and less important disturbances have arisen in various other districts. Many circumstances contribute to justify the expectation that the period of hardship

will be tided over with a comparatively small proportion of the suffering endured in the great famine twenty years ago. In contemplating the elaborate preparations made to combat the impending misfortune, and the energy shown by the officials in charge of the affected districts, it is easy to feel the same glow of sympathy and admiration which inspired Sir Edwin Arnold to write of Lord Northbrook's administration, "how beneficent our government is was shown in those dark days of the famine." But the sole test of a Government is not its behaviour under the stimulus of urgent danger, and the very excellence of its conduct in such crises as the one now confronting India provides a standard by which its deficiencies may be measured in less troubled times. The admirable character of the arrangements provided to anticipate and remedy the occasional failure of crops was shown by the slightness of the dislocation of business produced by the employment during the past summer of some 300,000 people on relief works in the North-West, and by the promptitude and facility with which well-digging, the building of railway embankments, irrigation canals, and other operations of permanent value have now been commenced as relief works. The Indian Government learnt much from the last great year of dearth, though some of the lessons then enforced have of late lost a little of their vividness. The opening of railways and irrigation works, in accordance with the policy urged by Lord Lytton, has proceeded as steadily as financial (which are too often military) exigencies have allowed, and, therefore, while the area liable to famine has decreased, the facility of supplying the affected areas has increased. There are numerous lines of railway and numerous canals, already planned or commenced, which are now being pushed forward. These serve the double purpose of relief works and of active measures for limiting the famine area. American wheat, in spite of the recent rise, can be supplied at nine seers per rupee in Calcutta, and in all probability the immense surplus supplies of the Russian steppes will be tapped for the benefit of India. In this connexion it is a source of no small gratification to note the sympathy and appeals for active assistance in a section of the Russian Press not ordinarily conspicuous for Anglophil tendencies. The rates of carriage for corn from the seaports inland have been reduced, and although there is a natural and reasonable unwillingness to tamper with the ordinary course of trade, the Government is not likely to remain an inactive witness of any attempts to force up prices by that iniquitous contrivance for trading on other people's necessities known as a "corner." What will be the addition to the debt of India as a result of the famine cannot at present be estimated. It is at any rate fortunate that only a third of the railway estimates for the current year have already been expended; the balance may, by the suspension of the big schemes in Burma and Madras, be diverted to the liquidation of the cost of relief works. More important than all is the Viceroy's declaration that the people are displaying both energy and courage in face of their misfortunes, and so greatly alleviating the task of the authorities.

It is pertinent to enquire at the present moment how far the Government of India has carried out the resolutions formed while the memory of the last great famine was still fresh. Attention has been repeatedly called to the neglect of the Famine Fund, on the specious pretext that the building of railways and the limited construction of irrigation works were in themselves insurance against scarcity, and justified the reduction or total abolition of the fund. In the ten years from 1885-6 to 1895-6 the average assignment to Famine Relief was, roughly, one-third of the standard, namely, fifty lakhs. Even with the prospect of famine ahead, the budget of 1896-7 only allotted one crore to this purpose. The difference has, of course, been absorbed by the great spending departments, and more especially by the ever-increasing cost of military services. It is peculiarly irritating to remember that the branch of the public services which feels least the tremendous strain and pressure of such periods as that through which India is now passing, is the one on which falls the largest portion of the responsibility for the increased difficulties due to straitened means. The irony of fate is seen in the circumstance that the country whose treacherous designs are the ostensible cause of military extravagance is the one whose aid is offered to mitigate the evils of a time which might well be expected to relax the bonds of authority and give her the opportunity she is presumed to await. In another direction, too, the policy of the Government is open to criticism. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce has brought against the management of the railways a serious indictment which seems to be well supported by facts. For ten years the export trade in grain has suffered a steady decline in face of the competition with foreign wheat, notably from Argentina. The annual export of wheat from India has fallen from over seven million hundredweights to three and a third millions, with the consequence that the railway receipts on the principal lines also show a grave falling off. For this calamity the Bengal merchants blame the excessive minimum railway rate, and their contention is to some extent borne out by the action of the Government, who have adopted as a primary measure of relief the reduction of railway rates on produce carried from the seaports inland. The importance of the wheat export cannot be overestimated, and nothing should be left undone to maintain it at a high level. Obviously, the measure of a country's capacity to resist the assault of evil times is its surplus in prosperity. India, with its vast population and unreliable rainfall, must always be liable to periods of scarcity, and a charge of something like culpable carelessness may reasonably attach to an administration which, in spite of protest and the warning voice of facts, looks on without making an effort, while the nation's reserve of strength ebbs away. The evil has its root in the unsound financial system which is followed in the building of railways, the dual control, the guarantee, and the whole catalogue of absurdities which were exposed in the March issue of INDIA. In order to minimise the loss involved in the case of certain lines by the payment of a guaranteed rate of interest on an unnecessarily heavy capital outlay, a minimum tariff has been sanctioned so high as, under the circumstances, to

be partially prohibitive, and so to defeat even the end which it was intended to fulfil.

In his speech before the Legislative Council at Simla on October 15th, the Viceroy made allusion to the "Government of Lord Lytton, who laid it down in the most precise terms that in the increase of railways and canals, but especially of railways, lay the only means open to the Government of meeting the attacks of famine on more favourable conditions." Experience has shown that special insistence on railways, with its corollary in starvation of irrigation projects, is wrong, or at any rate unprofitable. Perhaps if the Viceroy to whose authority appeal is now made had been the representative of a different policy, the railway returns would to-day compare more favourably with the irrigation returns. Down to March 31st, 1894, the total capital expenditure on railways was ninety-four crores. Of this sum little less than a third was expended on the North-Western, in which by far the heaviest item is the cost of the disastrous projects in the Quetta district. During the same period less than thirty crores were spent in irrigation works. In ten years the net loss on the railways was thirteen and a-half crores, the annual deficit showing an increase from one crore in 1884-5 to a crore and a-half in 1893-4. The major irrigation works during the same period show a clear profit, after paying interest on capital debt, of fifty lakhs. But a Government return for the year 1894 shows better results than the Statistical Abstract, in which irrigation and navigation are lumped together to the great disadvantage of the former. The later statistics show that although the canals in Bengal and Bombay are unprofitable, in other provinces they pay from four to seven per cent. on capital. Even the incomplete Chenab canal, which is now being pushed on energetically, is already earning seven per cent. Especially profitable are the minor works constructed out of revenue from time to time, which, with an area of five million acres, earned in 1894 over half as much net revenue as the major works watering thirteen and a-half million acres. In the accounts their value is obscured by the inclusion of the cost of construction under the head of current expenditure and not capital account. On the whole, the net profit to the Government from major irrigation works alone, since their commencement, has been three and a-half crores. A strong case, therefore, is presented for the diversion of some of the millions spent on largely unproductive railways to the more remunerative work of irrigation. The argument sometimes adduced against the latter, namely, that they directly encourage the increase of population, and are therefore not desirable to an unlimited extent in a country already densely populated, proves too much. The same objection might be advanced against any economic proposal whatever, so far as it tends to promote prosperity, even against the construction of railways, or the use of machinery. Even if the objection had validity of a sort, it is put out of court by the very special conditions of the case under discussion. The population has already increased to a point at which any failure of rain is attended with great risk of scarcity, and the people must be provided for by any means within reach. The apprehended increase in their numbers cannot possibly be as rapid as the extension of the means of subsistence in the districts where irrigation is available. And, finally, not even the most ardent upholder of abstract economic theory, nowadays, adheres to the tenets of Malthus. Population will find its own limits none the less surely for the creation of a surplus food supply which, in normal years, will be exported. How to develop such a reserve and to prevent the dissipation of the national resources by redressing the balance of imports and exports, are the questions which any really successful administration must solve.

"HEALTH MISSIONERS FOR RURAL INDIA."

The following is the Government of India letter which is referred to in Miss Florence Nightingale's article at p. 359 :—

From J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India,

To The CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, The CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, The SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL (Municipal Department), The CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH, The CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, The CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, The CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF BURMA, The CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF ASSAM, The CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF COORG, The RESIDENT AT HAIDARABAD.

Calcutta, the 8th March, 1895.

SIR,—In a Circular Letter No. [1], dated the 28th August, 1893, the Government of India suggested the issue of instructions to all civil and medical officers for enquiries of a practical nature into outbreaks of cholera and other epidemic diseases. Stress was laid upon the necessity for the immediate and thorough investigation on the spot of outbreaks of such diseases, and it was suggested that civil medical officers should be directed to keep ready prepared and to distribute beforehand a printed form of instructions (as prescribed) in the vernacular for the use of all persons whose duty it would be to report the occurrence of cases of cholera.

2. With reference to this subject, and in connexion with the question of improving village conservancy and rural sanitation in India, it has been suggested to the Government of India that district and medical officers would derive much assistance in acquiring a practical knowledge of the local sanitary conditions of their districts if a permanent record containing such information as can be furnished of the sanitary history of each locality were kept up. An attempt has been made to indicate in the questions given in the annexed paper the kind of information which is required, and this information might be embodied in a record to be called the "Village Sanitary Inspection Book" by some literate resident of the village, either the headman, village accountant, or any other intelligent person. It has further been suggested that these questions might be printed on each page of the book both in English and the vernacular of the district, a blank page being inserted after each set of questions for any subsequent remarks which might be made by officers of the district staff, including tahsildars, gazetted officers of the Police and Public Works Department, and officials of the Sanitary and Medical Departments visiting the village on tour. The book should ordinarily be kept in the village as a local record, and sent at the end of every quarter to the Civil Surgeon in order that the information may be abstracted for permanent record in his office.

3. In some Provinces a "Village Note Book" of a similar

[1] 15 Sanitary: Madras, 148; Bombay, 149; Bengal, 150; North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 151; Punjab, 152; Central Provinces, 153; Burma, 154; Assam, 155; Coorg, 156; Haiderabad, 157.

nature is already maintained for revenue purposes, and the adoption of such a note book for information regarding sanitary matters would in these Provinces be a matter of no difficulty. It appears also to the Governor-General in Council that the suggestion could be easily carried out in other Provinces, and His Excellency in Council therefore desires that the experiment of introducing it should be tried. The Governor-General in Council will leave it to Local Governments and Administrations to make any additions or alterations which may be considered necessary or desirable in the questions to be put.

4. The Governor-General in Council desires that the system above described should be confined for the present to selected villages. It seems to His Excellency in Council essential for the proper working of the scheme that villages and areas selected should be grouped and marked off in the district or Thana maps. They are already so grouped for the purpose of furnishing information regarding cholera, but the existing groups will probably be found to be too large for the present purpose, and it may be desirable to reduce them to 10 or 15 villages at most. The system might at first be introduced in the chief village of each small group and gradually extended so as eventually to embrace all the villages in the group.

5. I am to request that the progress made in the preparation and maintenance of such a village sanitary record in the Madras Presidency, the Bombay Presidency, Bengal, etc., etc., may be duly noticed in the Annual Sanitary Reports.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant, J. P. HEWETT,

Offg. Secretary to the Government of India.

The points to be dwelt on briefly in the "Village Sanitary Inspection Book," should include the following:—

1. Name of village and pargana, with the name of the person by whom information was supplied.
2. Position with regard to main roads, railways, pilgrim routes, etc.
3. Conformation of site and locality.
4. Character of the soil and its tendency to retain moisture or otherwise; state of natural drainage.
   Is there any attempt at artificial drainage?
   Is there any obstruction to drainage by roads, railways, embankments or other works on drainage or by the silting up of rivers or *khals*?
   Spring level of village lands in hot, dry and monsoon months.
   Position of burial grounds and cremation ghats as regards villages and streams.
5. Area, number of houses, their construction, arrangement in groups or streets, sanitary conditions of immediate surroundings of each house or group of houses; site crowding. Are the dwellings generally crowded or otherwise?
6. Population, its principal castes; trades and occupations of the inhabitants.
   Particulars as to migration.
7. Food substances, their source of supply and degree of abundance.
8. Water-supply: principal sources.
   If from wells:—
   How many are there? What are their respective depths and what is the distance between surface of ground and the surface of water in the hot weather? How are they protected from surface impurities? Are they of masonry or not? Are any set aside for particular castes?
   If from tanks:—
   How many are there? What are their respective sizes? Are they protected from fouling by men, as by washing, etc., and by cattle? Are any set apart for the use of particular castes?
   If from rivers or streams:—
   Is the stream polluted from any cause such as impure surface drainage, or trades and manufactures, such as tanning, dyeing, etc., before it reaches the village or during the passage by the village?
   The neighbourhood of burial or burning places to drinking water should be noted.
   Are the wells or tanks set apart for drinking purposes periodically cleaned. If so at what intervals? The date on which each cleaning actually takes place should be noted.
9. Is any place, or are any places, set aside for answering the calls of nature?
   If so, what is the position of such a place or places with regard to:
   The prevailing winds, natural drainage of the country the wells and tanks and the dwellings of the inhabitants? Is the site systematically cultivated? Is any system of conservancy carried out? If so describe it. How is house refuse disposed of?
10. Are there many cattle or domestic animals kept in the village? How are they stalled or penned? Is manure stored in the village in any quantity? If stored outside the village, where is it kept? Is any place set apart for the slaughter of animals by butchers, or for chamars to skin or cut up animals; and, if so, at what distance from the village?
    Notes of epidemics among cattle should be recorded.
11. Are any religious fairs (melas) held in the village? If so, are they largely attended and by what classes of people? When are the market days?
    What is the average attendance at religious fairs and markets?
12. Are marriage processions frequent? Are they largely attended?
13. The births and deaths should be noted.
    How are the dead disposed of? Is cremation thoroughly carried out? What becomes of the ashes? Are dead Mussulmans buried in a special cemetery? Are any buried in compounds or within municipal or village limits? How are the bodies of dead children disposed of? How are persons dead of smallpox and cholera disposed of? Is vaccination popular among the inhabitants?
    Notes of epidemics among human beings should be recorded.
14. Meteorological phenomena, such as exceptional rainfall, floods or unusual change of temperature should be described.
15. Other unusual phenomena, such as floods, drought, scarcity or famine, should also be noted.

ROBERT BROWNING'S POEMS.[1]

Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. have deserved well of the world in giving to it, in a compact form, and at a moderate price, a complete edition of Mr. Browning's plays and poems from Pauline (1833) to Asolando (1889). To say that the editor of these beautiful volumes is Mr. Augustine Birrell is to add a sure guarantee that the editor's duties have been discharged with taste, discretion, erudition, and humour withal. Mr. Birrell explains that his edition makes no pretence to be critical. Obscure and difficult passages are left to be explained by a careful study of the context; beauties or defects of composition are not discussed; corrupt passages are not emended—for no passages are corrupt. "All that has been done is to prefix (within square brackets) to some of the plays and poems a few lines explanatory of the characters and events depicted and described, and to explain in the margin of the volumes the meaning of such words as might, if left unexplained, momentarily arrest the understanding of the reader." Each volume contains as frontispiece a portrait of the poet—one dated 1835, the other 1881. An excellent addition to the second volume is a chronological list of the poems and plays. Type, printing, paper, and binding are all admirable. The effect of this edition will no doubt be greatly to extend the circle of Mr. Browning's regular readers.

[1] "The Poetical Works of Robert Browning." With Portraits. In two volumes. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1896.

NOTICES.

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INDIA.

LONDON, DECEMBER, 1896.

THE EXPECTED FAMINE.

The news which the telegraph has been bringing from India during the past seven or eight weeks has steadily become more and more grave. Early in October we learned that widespread scarcity was probable in the Punjab and certain districts of the North-West Provinces, that the prices of food and grains had risen enormously, and that grain riots had occurred and were likely to be renewed on a larger scale. It was pointed out that distress was for the moment limited to well-defined localities, but that if no rain fell before November an enormous area would probably be affected by the failure of the cold weather and spring crops. In the middle of October tolerably full reports were received of a meeting of the Legislative Council at which the Viceroy and Mr. Woodburn, the member in charge of the Revenue and Agricultural Department, frankly discussed the prospect of "severe scarcity" over the large area that was so grievously stricken eighteen years ago. Two days later we read that rain was "now improbable," and that famine—Lord Elgin had used the dreaded word—was inevitable unless sufficient rain fell within the affected area. Since then there has been no really reassuring news, but official telegrams, while they have defined the threatened districts and recorded the absence of rain, have also announced the opening of test relief works, and the various other measures which have been, or are being, taken by the authorities to mitigate the consequences of a calamity recognised as imminent. Need it be said that this grave news has attracted attention and excited sympathy throughout the United Kingdom? The danger of famine, like the re-imposition of the cotton duties, or a trans-frontier campaign, dispels for a moment the characteristic apathy of the British public towards India. Newspapers which on ninety-nine days out of every hundred complacently ignore the existence of British India, suddenly become alive to the opportunity, the concise cyclopædia is taken from its shelf, and the index to the report of the Famine Commission is hastily scanned. The advantage of these occasional researches is not to be denied. But while nothing could be more admirable than the sympathy which is invariably expressed, it must be admitted that the writers do not for the most part probe very far below the surface. The usual observations may be summarised in a few sentences. They are (i) that the Government of India and all British residents in India are seen at their best in coping with famine; (ii) that everything that can be done will be done; and (iii) that the outlook is less grave than it was in the 'seventies because while irrigation works will now aid the production, and railways and roads the distribution, of food, the stricken areas will also be able to draw upon hitherto unknown sources of external supply.

There is no need to dwell upon these excellent, if somewhat threadbare, remarks. It is more important to ask whether, after all, they are quite the last word on the subject. Nobody who knows anything of Indian opinion can think that they are. Let us acknowledge at once the faultless temper of the speech delivered by the Viceroy on October 15th. "If," he said, "I may speak from my own feeling "in the matter, there is not a man who would not "strain his utmost to prevent the loss of a single "life." We take these words as meaning that life is to be saved at any cost, and that nobody is to be allowed to starve. That is a policy which deserves, as it will receive, the approval and support of every humane man and woman. It is the policy which was followed in Behar in 1874. But we must not disguise from ourselves the fact that another system was unfortunately adopted a few years later in Madras, and that there was a lamentable loss of life—a loss much greater, in all probability, than the authoritative records were able to state. The policy of 1874, if it is pursued, will undoubtedly cost a large sum. Besides the actual outlay for relief, there

must be—indeed, there have already been—suspensions and remissions of land revenue on a large scale. In dealing with an Indian famine, as every competent observer admits, political economy has to be banished to Saturn. There must be no scruple about interfering with private enterprise, and no idea that a demand is sure to create a supply. The Government must take the business into its own hands. There is one thing which it ought not to do —and that is to prohibit the export of grain. So long ago as October 14th it was stated that appeals were being made to the Government to take this course. But to such appeals the Government, if it is well advised, will turn a deaf ear. We have, however, a definite suggestion to offer, which Lord Elgin's emphatic and sympathetic words encourage us to offer with the greater confidence. In the Budget for 1894, as will be seen from another page, the regular grant to the Famine Insurance Fund was, in spite of the pledges given when the Fund was inaugurated, wholly suspended for the time being. In the same Budget, by a curious and unpleasant coincidence, a large sum was set apart as "exchange compensation allowance" for European officials in the Government of India. Now, as the stress of the expected famine will, under existing circumstances, fall upon the Indians themselves, and will not touch the higher officials, it is, we think, a reasonable suggestion that the grant of exchange compensation should, at least temporarily, be stopped. If this suggestion be acted upon, the Government will have more money to devote to saving life, and the official classes in India, without exactly "straining their utmost," will bear a share of the burden. Even so, the burden imposed by the famine upon the taxpayers will be very grievous, and India will have abundant cause to regret the policy which diverted the Famine Insurance Fund to scientific frontiers and Chitral expeditions.

Lord George Hamilton's speech, which is reported elsewhere, and which seems to have attracted an audience nearly as large as an Indian Budget audience in the House of Commons, contained an unusual number of small inaccuracies. But it described clearly enough the existing organisation for dealing with famine, and it paid a compliment to Lord Elgin for which the appropriator of Chitral will no doubt be suitably grateful. What neither Lord George Hamilton nor Lord Elgin has explained is how it comes about that so many millions of British subjects in India are at this time of day so readily liable to the dangers of scarcity. Mr. A. O. Hume, in an article which we print elsewhere, does not hesitate to lay some portion, at any rate, of the responsibility at the door of the system, as distinguished from the individual administrators, of government in India. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji holds the same opinion, and fortifies it with statistics showing, in the words of Lord Salisbury, how much of the revenue is annually exported from India without a direct equivalent. The contention is not new. It was urged by Mr. John Bright forty years ago in these words:—

> "I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil, and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the government of that country."

Upon this grave indictment we may, at this particular moment, forbear to dwell. But amid all the well-deserved eulogies of the Famine Code, it may not be amiss to bear in mind Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's observations—that it is the extreme poverty of the mass of the Indian people which constitutes the danger of famine; that this poverty exists side by side with a particular system of government; and that the Famine Insurance Fund, even when it is not disbursed upon alien projects, simply means that the poor are taxed to prevent starvation. As Mr. Naoroji says:—

> "I appeal to any fair-minded Briton; suppose that the French became the rulers of this country, occupied every office of benefit, drove away your Gladstones and your Salisburys into oblivion and poverty, allowed you no voice in controlling expenditure, took away enormous sums of money in the name of Services, and further, by means of these same funds introduced as Capital, took away other enormous sums as profits—how long would it take to impoverish England?"

That is a question which will remain when the present danger has been successfully met. Meantime there can be nothing but praise for the energy and devotion of the Government in India in dealing with the immediate crisis.

WANTED: CHECKS ON EXPENDITURE.

LORD WELBY and his colleagues, who are enquiring into the administration and management of Indian expenditure, have found it convenient to divide their subject-matter into three main sections. These they name respectively (i) financial machinery of the Government of India; (ii) progress of expenditure; and (iii) apportionment of expenditure in which both Great Britain (*sic*) and India are interested. The evidence heard at the thirty sittings which have so far been taken extends over all these sections. But we have reason to believe that it most nearly approaches completeness in the first—that is, in the section relating to financial machinery. The proclamation appointing the Royal Commission expressly stated that any five or more of the Commissioners had "liberty to report" the proceedings "from time to time" if they should judge it expedient so to do.

If this virtual invitation to issue *interim* reports had been accepted, it is pretty certain that the first report would have dealt with financial machinery. It may be of interest, therefore, to look into the evidence which deals with this subject, and to see how far, if at all, it tends to give support to the demands put forward by educated opinion in India. Two preliminary remarks, however, need to be made. In the first place, it is to be noted that the evidence comes, not from Indians, but from Englishmen, and not merely from Englishmen, but from Englishmen who hold, or have held, high office under the British Government in India. To look for help from them is much as if, in this country, one should ask the permanent officials at the Foreign Office or the War Office for their candid opinion about popular aspirations, and about suggestions for the improvement of their own departmental methods. Without labouring the point, we may at least observe that any admissions made in such quarters would possess something more than the ordinary significance of the terms in which they were couched. In the second place it must be remembered that the question of machinery is not the question with which, in the department of finance, educated opinion in India is chiefly concerned. In other words, it is not denied that the Government of India is a tolerably efficient book-keeper. Much, therefore, of the evidence of witnesses like Sir Henry Waterfield, Mr. Stephen Jacob, and Sir Edwin Collen amounts to an explanation, by way of preface, of methods which, though they may be open to criticism in detail, raise no large issues of principle.

On the other hand, there undoubtedly is one very important question raised in this section—the question, namely, of financial control. Here is a Government which raises a revenue of something like a thousand millions of rupees annually. What is the guarantee that this revenue is wisely and economically expended? Lord Welby (Q. 2909) presented one aspect of this question very clearly :—

"Sir David Barbour made a criticism, which I think all officers connected with financial departments must allow as a criticism of general application, namely, that sufficient attention is not given by the departments in India to the financial question. They hardly appreciate the gravity of it, and do not forecast what the financial effect of the measures on which they are bent may be. That, of course, is a defect common to all Governments. The heads of different departments very seldom take a general view of the effect of their administration. They are anxious to carry out measures which they think important."

Precisely; and unless some check is placed upon their competitive enthusiasm they will spend more money than the taxpayer can afford, and may also spend it upon objects which he does not desire. "That," Lord Welby says, "is a defect common to "all governments." No doubt. But the question in each case is, how is the defect remedied, and how is the taxpayer protected? Or, is there to be no remedy? Is the taxpayer to be content if, while somebody else calls the tune, he is permitted to pay the piper? Educated Indians, who have read history, and take an interest in politics, do not think so. Witness, for example, this passage from Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea's Presidential address at the last session of the Indian National Congress :—

"Englishmen are our teachers. At their feet we have learnt those constitutional principles which have moulded the governments of the civilised world, and which we hope will one day be incorporated in the government of this country. If there is one thing more than another which this constitutional history impresses upon the mind of the reader, it is this : the jealous solicitude which the English people show at every stage of their history to ensure to their representatives, and to them alone, the full and absolute control over the finances of the country."

The check upon the zeal of spending departments in the United Kingdom is, in Lord Welby's phrase, "anticipation of the action of Parliament"—that is, of the representatives of the taxpayers. Needless to say, there is in India no check of this kind. Under the provisions of the Indian Councils Act, indeed, the Legislative Councils do now contain a few non-official members who, to some extent, represent public, as distinguished from departmental, opinion. But they have no votes. They may discuss the Budget. But they cannot divide upon it, nor move amendments to it. They can only make speeches, and when they make them it is too late for them to take effect. Similarly, by the 53rd section of the Act for the Better Government of India (1858), the Secretary of State is required to lay the India accounts and estimates before Parliament. But there is no effective discussion because there is no effective resolution. The House of Commons is merely invited to say that the closed accounts record the totals which they do in fact record.

Now, it is gratifying to note that neither Sir Auckland Colvin, who was Finance Minister from 1883 to 1887, nor Sir David Barbour, who was Finance Minister from 1888 to 1893, is satisfied with this state of affairs. Sir David Barbour says, for example (Q. 1,833) :—

"I certainly think that something is very desirable which would ensure greater attention being paid to financial considerations in connexion with the Government of India."

Again (Q. 1,930) :

"I think it would be better for India, better all round, if more attention were given to the financial question, and if we went more slowly in periods of great apparent financial prosperity."

Sir Auckland Colvin (Q. 2,909) agrees with Sir David Barbour in this opinion. The Finance Minister, he says (Q. 2,910) "does not get sufficient support." Examining Sir A. Colvin, Lord Welby said :—

"The point of Sir David Barbour's criticism, I think,

might be put thus: that in a country like India where deficits are more dangerous than they would be here, where new taxation is more difficult than it would be here, the Government as a whole does not give sufficient attention to what may be the financial results of measures which it adopts."

Whereupon Sir Auckland Colvin remarked :—

"I agree entirely to that; and I would add to that, that in a country where the taxpayer is an alien, and is not able to make his voice directly heard, the need of giving close attention to economy in administration is greater than it would otherwise be."

It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of this evidence. Those who, where Indian administration is concerned, venture to doubt whether all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds are commonly denounced as fanatical partisans and ignorant amateurs. Is Sir Auckland Colvin a fanatical partisan? Is Sir David Barbour an ignorant amateur? These experts who, taken together, filled the office of Finance Minister during the ten years 1883-1893, agree in the opinion that the Government of India does not give sufficient attention to financial considerations. It goes without saying that Lord Welby and his colleagues cannot ignore this important declaration. They are bound, on the contrary, to address themselves to the task of discovering a remedy. Neither Sir A. Colvin nor Sir D. Barbour is prepared off-hand to put forward a definite scheme to this end. But they make more than one valuable suggestion which we set out on another page. There has never been any doubt in the minds of educated Indians as to the broad lines upon which financial reform must run. The discussion upon the Budget, both in India and in Parliament, needs to be converted from a farce into a reality.

THE GREEK LYRIC POETS.[1]

"It happened to the people of Posidonia," says Aristoxenus in "Athenaeus," "who were sometime "Greeks, that they were utterly barbarised, and "became Tyrrhenians or Romans, so that they "changed their language and the rest of their "customs; but they even now still observe one of the "Hellenic feasts, in which, coming together, they "call to memory their old names and customs, and "having bewailed them to one another and wept "their fill of tears, they separate." Would it not be well, even in these latter days, to institute some such annual custom for the many amongst us "who "were sometime Greeks" and read Homer and Sophocles in their youth, but who have been "utterly "barbarised" by the cares of this life since they bade farewell to school or university? To such a gathering might come not only those who loved the classics in boyhood, for they perhaps form but a small fraction of the learners; but some who like Robert Herrick, in Stevenson's "Ebb-Tide," have found strange and unexpected consolation in a tattered classic, when they have turned to it in later life; and perchance, in softer mood, even the old Rugbeian who boasted the other day that he could only remember of his stock of classics one line of Greek —a line of Homer that he had written out six hundred times at the stern bidding of the new Archbishop of Canterbury.

But there is, after all, a more excellent way than the institution of a new Congress for the display of ineffectual remorse. It is possible for anyone who still retains a modicum of the Greek he learnt at school, to take Mr. Brooks's charming little volume and follow the selections from the Greek lyric poets with the aid of the accurate and literal rendering printed at the foot of each extract. He will not repent his trouble. He will gain an introduction to a new world of poetry, for it is only a very exceptional boy who reads Greek lyrics at school. And, in all probability, unless he has completely lost the power of enjoying poetry, he will be astonished to find how much more vitally interesting Greek poetry is when he comes back to it in mature life, than it seemed to be in his school days. For youth, as Mr. Pater told us in "Gaston "de Latour," even studious youth, is "of listless "humour among books that certainly stirred the "past," and only "makes a docile act of faith "regarding the witchery of Virgil." Here and there, no doubt, a boy or girl feels the full charm of a magical line or a romantic story, even in a dead language. But most of us need more experience of life before we can either appreciate the abiding interest of the poet's themes, or reconstruct for ourselves in any measure the vanished past, with its likeness to or differences from the present.

In the case of the Greek lyric poets the amount of "reconstruction" to be done is, of course, specially large; for they only survive to us in fragments. To one class of these remains, those whose authorship is quite uncertain, editors have given the pathetic name of Fragmenta Adespota, "unowned fragments." The day may yet come for the fragments to be restored to their context, and for the forgotten author to receive a late immortality. The discovery of the famous Aristotelian papyrus and of part of the lost "Antiope" of Euripides makes the possibility of recovering some of the vanished wealth of Greek lyric poetry something better than an idle dream. How great the gain would be to literature, if that possibility were to be realised, it is difficult to estimate. The ancients spoke of Sappho in the same

[1] "Greek Lyric Poets." Selected and translated by Francis Brooks, M.A., lecturer in classics at University College, Bristol. London: David Nutt.

breath with Homer; Horace made the freest use of Alcaeus; and where a line or two of the original survive, enabling us to make the comparison, we are bound to confess the superiority of the Greek in power and passion, if not in perfection of form. But if we leave on one side the Epinician Odes of Pindar —quite possibly not his best work, as the discovery of his other poems may some day prove to a delighted generation of scholars—almost the whole of this wonderful poetry is lost to us. What remains has been chiefly preserved in the pages of old critics and grammarians, who quoted passages, not for their literary beauty, but because they illustrated a rule of syntax, a metrical canon, or some custom or legend. Unless, therefore, we are disposed to wait on the highly uncertain chance of the discovery of a papyrus of Sappho, we must be content to take advantage of the patient labours of Bergk and his predecessors, who, in Mr. J. A. Symonds's expressive phrase, have "sorted out from heaps of shot rubbish" these "fragments of extinguished stars." After all, the stars are not really extinguished; only fragments of them are left, it is true, but they are fragments that burn and shine with imperishable lustre.

Several kinds of reconstruction are open to the interested and intelligent reader. He may bestir his fancy—as Mr. Frederick Tennyson tells us, in the preface to his "Isles of Greece," he was moved to do by "a weird little volume" containing these same "delicious fragments"—to imagine what the "full-orbed perfect compositions" must have been. Or, if that be a task which only a poet should attempt, he may at least amuse himself by piecing together the character of an individual poet out of the lines that survive to witness for or against him. The greed of Alcman, with his unaffected delight in the season of the year "when the world is in bloom and one cannot satisfy desire in eating;" the cynical roguery of Timocreon, convicted of taking a bribe from the Persians and comforting himself with the reflection that other foxes, too, have lost their tails; the pessimism of Bacchylides, crying out that "not to be born is best for mortals," and finding his solace in "the sweet tyranny of riotous cups;" the passion of "violet-weaving, pure, soft-smiling" Sappho; the aristocratic temper of Alcaeus, the hater of "low-born Pittacus;" the nobler strain in Simonides, who has seen splendid devotion, and sung of it worthily, and who yet looks in pity rather than in anger on the baseness to which the average man will yield under pressure of necessity—how vivid an appeal is made to us by the intense humanity of all these characteristics, good and bad alike! Or, once more, our imaginary student may try to reconstruct the Greek world in which these poets lived, that early "lyric age," as it has been called, of which we seem to know so much less than of the Homeric age that preceded or of the Attic age that followed. We catch many glimpses of it in Herodotus, who often seems rather to belong to it than to the Attic age in which he wrote. But we have nothing more than glimpses, and it is allowed to us to draw our own inferences from the tone of these fragments. "Young light-hearted masters of the wave," Mr. Matthew Arnold called the early Hellenes in a felicitous line; and there is evidence enough in these poems of light-heartedness, of love of the dance and wine and song. But there is evidence also of that melancholy which often alternates with light-heartedness, and which is almost equally characteristic of the Hellenes, from the Homeric Achilles downwards. Uglier characteristics, too, are apparent; the wars and seditions of the time, its greed and cruelty, its sudden reversals of fortune. Professor Mahaffy seems to think that their hospitality was the one redeeming feature of the Greeks of this period; but we ought to remember that, if they were cruel, they were one degree less cruel than their barbarian neighbours. "The barbarian mutilates, impales, crucifies," as Professor Freeman once said, "the Greek simply slays." Lastly, if we do not wish to reconstruct at all (though we shall miss much if we refuse to exercise our imagination thus) there is still left to us the universal interest of poetical truth and beauty. The poet is neither of nor for one age, but of and for all time. Lines like these of Simonides have an abiding value and charm altogether independent of the particular occasion they celebrate:

> "Of those that died in Thermopylae glorious is the fortune and fair the doom; their grave is an altar; for mourning they have remembrance, for lamentation praise. And such a winding-sheet neither decay nor all-conquering time shall make dim."

A word should be said of the popular songs, which to some readers will be the most interesting portion of the volume. Here, of course, is the famous "Linus Song," and the charming "Swallow Song," in which Greek children greeted the approach of spring. Even at this day a "Swallow Song," not unlike the old one, is sung, whether or no the custom has descended through all the centuries. Here, too, is the "Mill Song," with its gibe at Pittacus, the tyrant who ground Mitylene; and readers of Arnold Passow's collection will remember that mill songs still exist in Greece, and that the grinding of the millstone is still associated with oppression. There are also tantalising glimpses at children's games. One—"I will hunt a brazen fly," with the response, "You will hunt but you will not catch"—was a sort of blind man's buff. Another, evidently a "ring" game, asks in a simple haunting melody, "Where are my roses, where are my violets, where is my pretty parsley?" and receives the

answer, "Here are the roses, here are the violets, "here is the pretty parsley." In a third, described by Pollux, a girl, called the Tortoise, sat in the centre of a ring of girls, who ran round her asking questions. This was their dialogue. (A prose version necessarily loses so much of the charm, that for once we desert Mr. Brooks in favour of a metrical rendering):—

"Tortoise, Tortoise, what are you doing?
Weaving wool from fleeces of Miletus.
Tortoise, Tortoise, how did your son die?
From white horses he leapt into ocean."

The last line has puzzled the scholars. Some see in the "white horses" a poetical name for the breakers. De Fouquière finds in this song "the wail of the "bereaved mothers dwelling on the coasts of Asia "Minor whose sons perished in the defeat at Sala-"mis"! After such sort is the wisdom of commentators.

We have been told lately that Mr. William Morris worked at his verse translation of the Odyssey with a prose version "frankly" open before him. Now that at last the fragments of the Greek lyric poets have been made accessible in English, it only remains for a poet "frankly" to exploit Mr. Brooks.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

What, we wonder, is the meaning of the numerous paragraphs and articles which are cropping up in all sorts of odd quarters about Tibet? One day it is Captain Wellby's expedition—the next it is Tibetan trade. Are we to infer that Tibet is to be the scene of the "forward" frontier party's next operations? At any rate, it may be well to keep an eye upon the straws which proverbially show the direction of the wind.

We take the following extract from Lord Salisbury's speech at the Guildhall Banquet (November 9th):—

"With respect to Russia, I should not have ventured to make any definite observations but for the extraordinary statements which have recently appeared in Germany on apparently the voucher of, I may say without fear, the greatest statesman that the latter part of this century has produced. I hesitate to make any observation upon statements coming from such a source, but I do reserve the right to demur absolutely to the assumption on which he appears to go—that there is a permanent, necessary antagonism between Russia and Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) I know of no such antagonism. I know of no cause that would give rise to it, and the interests of the two countries do not seem to me likely to cross in any important matter so as to cause such a divergence as he appears to assume. (Cheers.) Speaking from the Foreign Office point of view, I regret to say that we have discussions with all Powers, but the discussions we have with Russia are by no means the most voluminous—I should almost say that they are the most concise of all in which we are engaged. (Cheers.) It is, therefore, I think, a superstition of an antiquated diplomacy that there is any necessary antagonism between Russia and Great Britain. (Hear, hear.)"

The passage may be commended to the careful attention of the "forward" frontier school.

Later, proposing the health of the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Faudel-Phillips, Lord Salisbury said:—

"I rise to propose a grateful toast of those who have dined well to the hosts who have entertained them. I rise to propose the health of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs who are our hosts. But in this case I am permitted to add a special reason why I am glad to have the honour of proposing the health of the Lord Mayor. In his case, as you are aware, the dignity is hereditary. (Cheers.) Thirty years ago, when I first held Cabinet office and was Secretary of State for India, I was confronted with the terrible problem of an Indian famine. The difficulties, of course, in the main lay with those who were in India. But a considerable portion fell upon us at home; and then I found the wisest counsellor, and the most careful and zealous assistant, in the father of my right hon. friend the Lord Mayor, who was then Lord Mayor of London. (Cheers.) I shall never forget the kindness, counsel, and assistance which he gave me, when, somewhat young and somewhat unexpectedly, I was confronted with that terrible difficulty. And it is a matter of no small pleasure to me that I am here to propose the health of his distinguished son, who, I have no doubt, will adorn, as his father did, the high office which he has been called upon to fill. (Cheers.)"

Lord George Hamilton, referring at Acton on November 11th to Lord Salisbury's speech, said:—

"The speech of Lord Salisbury he regarded, speaking now, not as a Minister, but as a private citizen, as eminently satisfactory. He listened to no part of it with greater assent than the statement that there was no irreconcilable quarrel between this country and Russia. In his view Russia was one of the countries between which and England there was no national antipathy, no industrial rivalry, and no colonial competition."

These remarks of Lord Salisbury's and Lord George Hamilton's, read in conjunction with the news that Russian wheat is being imported into the Indian districts which are now threatened with famine, are distinctly interesting.

In contrast with Lord Salisbury's and Lord George Hamilton's remarks, we may cite the following characteristic Note from the *St. James's Gazette* of November 20th:—

"It may seem ungracious to comment suspiciously on the Russian subscription for the relief of the famine in India. But the opening of a fund in St. Petersburg, under the auspices of the Ministry of Finance, contrasts rather remarkably with the way in which the Lord Mayor hangs back in London. The 'nasty' comment of the Berlin Press to the effect that "Great Britain must seem to the natives of India to be impotent and to be soliciting aid from Russia," is one which may have a substratum of truth. The moral effect of the starting of a Russian Fund, while there is no English Fund, can hardly help being bad; and if things go so far as the distribution of the money by Russian agents the effect will be even worse. We do not quite understand the attitude of the Indian Government and the India Office in this matter. So far as Russia is concerned, humanity apart, this attention to India combines a moral demonstration with the acquisition of a fine new market for Russian grain. But in the peculiar relations in which India stands to the British and the Russian Empires, it is hardly necessary to accentuate, as a matter of charity, what in fact should be merely a good piece of business."

The *St. James's* on the subject of "charity" is distinctly good.

Lord Reay has accepted the presidency of the East India Association.

Sir Charles Elliott has not yet become a member of the India Council, but he has been co-opted to the London School Board. "The Board have," in the opinion of a witty observer, "secured the services of a man quite as competent as Sir Richard Temple, who threatens to become the most voluminous author of the age, now that he is released from Parliament,

and quite as indefatigably laborious." Sir Charles Elliott is chiefly known as the enemy of trial by jury and the champion of trial by executive officers. If he is consistent, he will now propose that school attendance officers under the London School Board shall decide the cases upon which they report.

The Queen has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. William Mackworth Young, C.S.I., of the Indian Civil Service, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in succession to Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, whose tenure of office expires in March next.

Mr. Mackworth Young, who is thus nominated Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, has been in the Indian Civil Service for thirty-three years. He was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge. He is thoroughly familiar with the Punjab, for there he held his first appointment as an Assistant Commissioner. From having been at one time Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, he came to be the Financial Commissioner himself; and having once been Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, he has now come to be the Lieutenant Governor nominate. In the meantime he has held high office. He has been Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, and he has been Chief Commissioner of Coorg. He presided over the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission. His salary as Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab will be 100,000 rupees per annum—a sum that at the nominal value of the rupee would be £10,000. At its present exchange value in England it would be about £6,000—and not a bad "living wage" either, in these days of impending famine.

Professor Murison, who is well known to readers of India, is to be cordially congratulated upon having come within fifteen votes of defeating the Marquis of Huntly in the contest for the Lord Rectorship of the University of Aberdeen. That is the sort of result which suggests a slightly different result next time.

Commenting on the election, the *Daily News* wrote :—

"This is the third in the series of Rectorial contests, which are peculiar to Scotland, and which afford much pleasurable excitement to the undergraduate population of that ancient kingdom. As usual, the Liberals have in all three cases got the worst of it. Mr. Chamberlain beat Mr. Birrell at Glasgow, Lord Balfour beat Mr. Haldane at Edinburgh, and now Professor Murison has been defeated at Aberdeen. What may be Lord Huntly's qualifications for academic office we must admit that we are unable even to conjecture. Mr. Murison is a man of ability and distinction, an ornament of University College, London, who should, in the opinion of many Aberdonians, have succeeded Mr. Hunter as member for North Aberdeen. He may hope to be Lord Rector next year."

The Aberdeen system of electing a Lord Rector is a curiosity of voting. It is a relic of the mediæval system of Paris—long since abandoned by the Parisians themselves, and greatly modified by the other Scotch universities. For the purposes of voting all the undergraduates are divided into four Nations, this, of course, being a meaningless remnant of the mediæval system by which the students of different nationalities elected as chairman a Rector to defend their rights against civic interference. There are four Nations at Aberdeen. Mar, Buchan, and Moray represent students born north of the Grampians. Angus stands for the rest of the world! On the voting day each Nation is locked up in a room by itself. But the students at Aberdeen do not give a direct vote for the Rectorial candidates. They vote for a student who represents them, called the Procurator. After the recording of the votes (which are given orally) the "Procurators" meet in another room, and the successful candidate is he who has a majority of Nations. If the Nations are equally divided the winner is he who has the numerical majority of votes.

A prominent London Unitarian Minister, the Rev. James Harwood, of Effra Road Church, Brixton, is travelling to India in the "Bombay" as the representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Mr. Harwood will, we understand, journey from Bombay to the North-West, and hopes to be in Calcutta for the meetings of the National Congress at the end of December. From thence he proposes to move southwards to Madras, and may visit Ceylon before his return to this country a few months hence. His work in India will be in sympathy with the Brahmo Samaj—on parallel, but not identical, lines.

With the object of protesting against the State regulation of vice a national conference was held at Birmingham on November 13th, Sir James Stansfeld presiding. The chairman said that years ago the Contagious Diseases Acts were denounced as irreligious, cruel, and unjust to women, demoralising to men, and unconstitutional in the highest degree. In 1886 the repeal of these Acts was carried without an adverse vote, and they now protested against any re-establishment of them. A committee had been, or was being, appointed by the Secretary of State for India to inquire into this question. There was evidence that a renewal of the Acts was being sought, and he hoped that their protest might have weight in the proper quarter. On the proposition of Mr. M. M'Laren (London), seconded by Mrs. Tanner (Bristol), a resolution was adopted condemning the State regulation of vice, and protesting against the efforts being made to induce the Government to establish in this country, India, or any part of the Empire, a system antagonistic to the moral and religious convictions of the people of the country. In the evening a public meeting was held at the Midland Institute, Mr. George Dixon, M.P., in the chair, when resolutions in conformity with that passed at the morning conference were adopted.

The powerful mind of Lord Harris, formerly Governor of Bombay, and now a Lord-in-waiting to the Queen, has, the *Daily News* fears, received a severe shock. As he told the Primrose League at Rochdale, the case for Protection is one which he finds it more and more difficult to answer. One difficulty in Lord Harris's way is that he does not seem to understand what Protection means.

"He was not," he said, "going to indulge in discussion of the subject, beyond pointing out that it was absurd to suppose any country could forego for ever that method of raising revenue."

Protection is not a method of raising revenue at all,

and no deficiency can ever make it necessary to put on a Protective duty. Lord Harris says that India has been

"obliged to resort to the time-honoured but much derided method of Protection."

Protection honoured by time is an allegorical subject, with which a prosaic economist can hardly venture to deal. We have ourselves argued that the Indian duties on cotton, as modified by the present Secretary of State for India, are Protective. But Lord George Hamilton says they are not, and Lord Harris must settle the matter with him.

The valuable library of the India Office, the nucleus of which was formed by the old East India Company, is reported to have outgrown the accommodation provided for it in its old quarters in Whitehall. The need for an enlargement has become so urgent that Lord George Hamilton has authorised the expenditure of £15,000—of course at the expense of India—for improved and extended library accommodation; and the work, which has now been taken in hand, is expected to occupy about six months. When the work is finished, all the books and early records will be rearranged, so as to be readily accessible; and increased facilities for those engaged in researches in Oriental literature will be (gratuitously) afforded.

"THE EXPECTED FAMINE."

I.—HOW ABOUT "EXCHANGE COMPENSATION"?

It may be of interest at the present juncture to recall the memorandum which, in June, 1884, was circulated to Parliament and the Press by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. The Memorandum, which was entitled "'The Poor Man's Lamb.' Famine Insurance for the Masses *versus* Exchange Compensation for the Classes," was as follows:—

In 1877 and 1878 occurred the Great Madras and Bombay Famine, which, according to the official estimate, caused the deaths of 5¼ millions of people. In order to make permanent provision against such recurring disasters, Lord Lytton's Government resolved in 1878 to impose certain new taxes upon the whole of India. This additional burden took the form of a license tax (since changed into an income-tax) and certain local cesses, now known collectively as the Assessed Taxes.

Fresh taxation at such a time was looked upon with more than disfavour, and as requiring no ordinary justification to make it even tolerable. In answer to the widespread discontent thereby created, the Government of India urged that the people must be saved from famines, that this was a paramount duty of Government, but there was no fund at the disposal of Government, and that it was therefore necessary to create one to insure against future famines. In further justification of the proposed course, and to allay all possible apprehensions, the Government of India there and then entered into the most solemn pledges.

On the 27th of December, 1877, Sir John Strachey, in laying the Financial Statement of the coming year before the Council, after explaining the objects of the proposed taxation, said:

"I hope that no desire to carry out any administrative improvement, however urgent, or any fiscal reform, however wise, will tempt the Government to neglect this sacred trust."

On the 16th of January, 1878, he further said:

"I feel confident that I shall be able to satisfy the Council and the public that the resolution which the Government has proclaimed will be faithfully carried out, and the proceeds of these new taxes will be expended for the purpose of providing what I have called an insurance against famine, and for no other purpose whatever."

On the 9th of February, 1878, the same Member of Council carefully explained the intentions of Government in the following words:

"As I previously explained, we start with the hypothesis that in every ten years the Government of India will have to spend £15,000,000 on the relief of famine. The case will be put into its simplest form if we assume that the whole of the £15,000,000 will have to be spent at once at the end of this period, and the arguments I am about to use will not be in any way invalidated by the assumption, though it be not strictly true. Now, as the very foundation of our policy is the resolution not to permit this expenditure to create a constantly increasing charge for interest, the expedient of simply borrowing when the occasion occurs, and thus increasing the annual charges on account of debt, say, by £600,000, in each period of the years must, of course, be set aside, and it follows that we can only obtain the £15,000,000 which we require by saving up an equivalent sum in years of prosperity. If we provide for this purpose a *bonâ fide* surplus of £1,500,000 a year for ten years we shall have obtained our £15,000,000.

"I think, my lord, that I have now made it sufficiently clear how we propose to apply the £1,500,000 which we hope to provide as an insurance against famine. We shall apply it virtually to the reduction of debt; and when the calamity of famine actually arrives, we hope not only to be able to meet it without throwing fresh burdens upon the country, but to find that our means of giving efficient relief have been immensely increased by the useful works which we have carried out in the preceding years of prosperity."

Other utterances of the Finance Minister on this subject, however, appeared to be intended to qualify those specific statements, and raised doubts as to the future application of the fund. Public feeling became so strong in the matter, as shown by protests in the public press and by Members of the Council, that Lord Lytton considered it necessary to repudiate the idea that any qualification was intended, and he therefore recorded a Minute on the subject, dated the 12th March, 1878. The Viceroy wrote:

"The sole justification for the increased taxation which has just been imposed upon the people of India for the purpose of insuring this Empire against the worst calamities of future famine, so far as an insurance can now be practically provided, is the pledge we have given that a sum not less than a million and a-half sterling, which exceeds the amount of the additional contributions obtained from the people for this purpose, shall be annually applied to it. We have explained to the people of this country that additional revenue by the new taxes is required not for the luxuries, but the necessities of the State; not for general purposes, but for the construction of a particular class of public works; and we have pledged ourselves not to spend one rupee of the especial resources thus created upon works of a different character, while we exercise the most strict economy in all other branches of our expenditure, so that no greater burdens shall be thrown on the country than are absolutely required by the necessity of the case."

His Lordship then enumerated the engagements which the Government of India bound itself to fulfil, putting the following in the forefront:

"To apply sums from the surplus revenues at the rate of

1½ million sterling per annum, in such a manner as to create what shall be, in fact, an insurance fund, from which future expenditure for famine relief can be provided for without adding to the permanent burdens on the revenues."

Apparently, a certain section of the public was not yet fully satisfied, and in March, 1879, an important deputation to Lord Lytton, which still expressed fears lest the proceeds of the special taxes might not be legitimately applied, received the following rebuke, while eliciting a further definite pledge.

Lord Lytton in replying said:

"As the representative of the Sovereign of India, I regret that such language should have been held to me by you. The sole purpose of the additional taxation you complain of was the preservation of the lives of the people of India from the effects of famine. Whatever may be the faults or shortcomings of this Government, its action in the matter to which your address makes reference was dictated by the sincerest and most anxious desire to give to the people of India the greatest protection which could practically be provided for them against the calamities of future famine. To insinuate the contrary is to insinuate a calumny."

Such were the pledges. What has been the performance? The following table (taken as to the expenditure for the years 1881-82 to 1891-92 from a table at page 12 in the Explanatory Memorandum of the Under Secretary of State for India, 1893, and as to the other figures from the various accounts of the Government of India) will show.

Table showing the Receipts from Assessed Taxes and the Expenditure on Account of Famine Relief and Insurance, from 1878-79 *to* 1893-94.

Years.	RECEIPTS from Assessed Taxes.	TOTAL EXPENDITURE on Famine Relief and Insurance.	Details of Expenditure shown in Col. 3. Famine Relief.	Construction of Protective Irrigation Works.	Construction of Protective Railways. Charged under Famine Relief and Insurance.	Charged under Railway Revenue Account	Reduction or Avoidance of Debt.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
1878-79	900,920	313,547	313,547	—	—	—	—
1879-80	785,318	104,059	104,059	—	—	—	—
1880-81	558.720	34,840	34,840	—	—	—	—
1881-82	536,829	1,567,886	34,883	135,449	682,403	—	715,151
1882-83	517,811	1,495,972	22,103	263,443	*−133,129*	—	1,343,555
1883-84	526,087	1,522,813	9,205	283.223	649,248	—	581,137
1884-85	511,828	1,548,357	7,350	253,046	946,457	—	341,504
1885-86	503,034	1,529,271	40,695	186,807	589,000	29,271	683,498
1886-87	1,354,735	460,832	1,041	107,979	200,000	151,812	—
1887-88	1,431.436	376,607	402	91,003	—	285,199	—
1888-89	1,520,940	508,518	7,799	70,537	—	430,182	—
1889-90	1,595,274	1,062,009	68,288	71,457	—	462,009	460,255
1890-91	1,617.396	1,082,351	5,579	74,392	—	482,351	520,029
1891-92	1,652,823	1,500,000	23,423	77,931	484,795	231.681	682,170
1892-93	1,686,141	1,500,000	70,841	60,793	984,469	383,897	—
1893-94 estim'te	1,730,30	1,503,457	2,800	55,907	1,079,700	365,050	—
16 years.	17,429,592	16,110,519	746,855	1,731,970	5,482,943	2,821,452	5,327,299

From these figures it will be seen that the amount expended did not even equal the amount received from the Assessed Taxes. But it must be remembered that the Government refused to be bound down by the narrow limitations of a specific fund, with a debtor and creditor account. Not only did they promise not to spend one rupee of the produce of these taxes on anything but Famine Insurance, but they promised, in consideration of this new taxation and as its sole justification, to spend every year "a sum not less than a million and a-half sterling" on Famine Insurance. This they clearly have not done, and indeed the first thing that is apparent on looking at the table is the remarkable coincidence that Rx.4,000,000 were diverted from their legitimate purposes during the five years, 1887 to 1891, when the Burmah War was straining the resources of Indian Finance to their utmost.

But the real extent of the misappropriations which have been made is only apparent when we place side by side the promises and the performances of the Government of India, reduced to a simple sum in arithmetic, for the sixteen years from 1879 to 1894. In order not to complicate this comparison by the question of Exchange, the figures are shown in tens of rupees, but it must be noted that, technically, Lord Lytton's promise was to provide every year £1,500,000 sterling. If this point were insisted on, the case against the Government of India would be far worse than is here shown.

Promise of £1,500,000 a year (say)	= Rx. 24,000,000
Performance in expenditure on Famine Insurance (say)	= Rx. 16,000,000
Discount off the promises of the Government of India ..	Rx. 8,000,000
	or 33 %

Even this meagre performance would be less by nearly Rx.3,000,000 were it not for the inclusion of Rx.2,820,000 spent under Railway Revenue account, but treated by the Government of India as expenditure on account of Famine Insurance. Yet it has never been thought advisable to show this amount in the accounts under the head of expenditure for Famine Insurance; on every occasion the figures given in the tables under that heading having been explained in a footnote.

The absolute practical need for a Famine Fund is shown by past experience. Since the Crown took over the government of the country the following great famines have occurred. In Upper India 1860-61, Orissa, Behar, and Bengal 1865-66, North-West Provinces and Rajputana 1868-69, Bengal 1873-74, Madras and Bombay 1876-78, in addition to which it must be remembered that hardly a year passes by in India without scarcity in one province or another. Sir John Strachey has shown that during the twelve years preceding 1878, the famine expenditure of the Government of India had been nearly £17,000,000, made up approximately as follows:

Cost of Orissa Famine (1866)	£1,700,000
,, Bengal ,, (1874)	£6,750,000
,, S. Indian ,, (1876-7)	£9,250,000
	£17,700,000

Now let us look at the matter in the light of recent history. In the sixteen years since the taxes were imposed and the attendant pledges recorded, the Government of India can only claim, on the most favourable interpretation of their own accounts, to have fully redeemed those pledges in eight financial years. During the first three years there seems to have been no special action taken to correspond with the additional taxes levied. In the year 1881-2, under Lord Ripon and Major Baring, the Government of India fulfilled their pledges, and

continued to do so until 1885-6. In that year came the annexation of Upper Burma. This "urgent administrative improvement" proved too strong a temptation, and the "sacred trust" of Famine Insurance was "neglected" during five years to the extent of Rx.4,000,000, spent in completing the conquest of Upper Burma. In 1891 the Government of India once more accepted the responsibilities of its own pledges. This was the more easy because since 1887 the average annual yield of the special taxes had been in excess of the amount which the Government were bound year by year to set aside for Famine Insurance. But this time the adherence to pledges has been shorter. Three years only, instead of five, have elapsed before the Government of India has again yielded to temptation.

On this occasion the Famine Fund has been diverted to provide what is called Exchange Compensation Allowances, which simply mean an addition to the salaries of all non-domiciled European and Eurasian officials in India. The matter is perfectly clear. In their Budget proposals the Calcutta officials, while showing a deficit of Rx.3,500,000, have provided a sum of Rx.1,000,000 for exchange compensation allowances; and this sum has been obtained by a "temporary suspension" of the famine grant to this extent. In so doing, the governing classes in India have in effect diverted to their own use the fund which they hold in trust for the starving poor.

Truly we have over again the story of the poor man's lamb. The Indian masses and the Anglo-Indian classes are, on account of exchange, partners in misfortune. They have alike to make gold payments in England, and they alike suffer from the appreciation of gold. But the iniquity consists in this, that the rich and powerful partner ordains that his poor and powerless fellow-sufferer shall bear the burdens of both. Will the House of Commons allow this iniquity to be committed? On principle the people of India would not object to the grant of discriminating compensation to officials, but it is submitted that there should be at least a temporary suspension of any such grant until the finances of India can reasonably afford it.

II.—"THE SHEET ANCHOR OF INDIAN STATECRAFT."

The following letter from Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., dated Meredith, Gloucester, November 18th, appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* of November 19th, under the heading, "The Sheet Anchor of Indian Statecraft":—

In his report on the great Indian Famine of 1876-8, Sir James Caird calls the native village organisation "the sheet anchor of Indian statecraft," and declares his opinion that the "disruption of the mutually helpful bond of village society" is the most fatal misadventure that can befall the people in their struggle for life. In that famine some five millions of human beings died from starvation; and commenting on this experience he says, "The great difficulty hitherto felt in famine administration in India has been the disorganisation arising among multitudes of people who, when the last measure of grain is reached, break away from their villages in despair, and 'wander' in search of food or employment. The attempt to cope with this, in dealing with millions of people, overtaxes the working power of the State, and has led to frightful confusion, waste and expenditure, and to untold misery and death." Similarly in 1864, Lord Lawrence said, "The village communities, each of which is a little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions;" and in 1873, Sir Charles Trevelyan said, "The foundation of Indian society is the village municipality; that has been the salvation of India." With these wise sayings everyone having practical knowledge of the Indian people will agree; and the moral as regards the famine now impending is—keep the people in their villages, preserve and strengthen the village organisation, and work as far as possible through that. Further, in his admirable little work, "India: the Land and the People," Sir James Caird lays down certain humane practical maxims, which should be kept constantly in view: (1) "The most truly economical application of public relief is in such early help as will give assurance of life." When the village is deserted, and the family is scattered, depression of vitality comes on, there is no longer desire for life." It is not obstinacy that prevents persons in this condition from seeking relief, but mental depression, which should be dealt with humanely, and not by making relief repellent and unattractive. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the relief will be given in good time, and that it will be given in a form that the people will accept. (2) "There has been a mistaken desire to obtain some economical return for the food given to the people to sustain life, partly in order to reimburse the State, and partly to prevent pauperising the recipients." With regard to those considerations, Sir James Caird points out that the first object is to maintain the people not only in life but in health and working condition; and this can be better done by relieving them in the shelter of their own homes than by exacting task labour under the hardships inevitable at great relief works. And even from a money point of view he maintained that in time of severe famine the saving of food, by exacting no labour, will bear a favourable comparison with the profitable results of the costly labour of famine relief works. In any case, the annual sum set aside for famine relief in India is very small, being only about one-fiftieth per head of the annual expenditure in England on the relief of the poor. As regards the fear of pauperising the people he says, "In all Indian famines the uniform experience has been that the people at once return to their usual associations on the arrival of rain, in whatever form relief has been administered. In no instance does it appear that they have been pauperised by gratuitous help in time of famine."

III.—SPEECH BY LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P.

Lord George Hamilton, M.P., Secretary of State for India, delivered on November 17th, at Turnham Green, an address upon the Indian famine. He said:—

Our cynical friends abroad are apt to assert that the only

interest which we take in the maintenance and expansion of our external Empire arises from mere selfishness and a desire to get the utmost we can out of the territories thus annexed, and to devote to them in return as little as we can. I think we may fairly contend that if we had thought of nothing but our own interests we should in many parts of the world have curtailed rather than extended our Empire. But we are prompted by a belief that wherever the British flag floats there the condition of the people under it improves, and it is our belief that this fact more than our fighting power constitutes the strength and solidarity of the British Empire.

"THE SPECTRE OF SCARCITY."

As an illustration, let me ask you to turn your attention for a few moments to what is going on at present in India. India is a continent which from time immemorial has been specially subject to scarcity and famine, yet under no dynasty or rule have such persistent and systematic efforts been made to ward off famine and its consequences from the population of the country as have been so successfully established under British rule. (Cheers.) For some months past the spectre of scarcity has overhung a considerable territory in India. That apprehension is now turned into a reality, and the battle between the forces of preservation and destruction has already begun, and must become more intense and acute till rain falls again. Let me, then, describe the area of this conflict and the relative nature of the conflicting forces at work within it. Of the vast population of India, numbering nearly 300,000,000, 80 per cent. belong to the agricultural classes. The density of the agricultural population varies according to the regularity and amount of rain in each district. Where the rain is heavy and regular the population is exceedingly thick; where irregular and scarce it is correspondingly sparse; and therefore in the past, when an occasional famine occurred with a dense population, insufficiency of food has been the great difficulty with which to contend; but in the more sparsely-inhabited districts the difficulty was one of distribution of food. Since the Government of India has been transferred to the Crown we have had to contend with several famines. In 1866 a famine occurred in Orissa, a dependency of Bengal. The country was equally inaccessible by sea or by land, and a terrible mortality ensued. Six years later there was a great famine in Bengal. Lord Salisbury was then Secretary of State for India, and I, as Under-Secretary, was his mouthpiece in the House of Commons. The Government of India were determined that life at any cost should be saved, and they succeeded; but there was a great waste of money. In the next few years there was a continual series of scarcities culminating in the great famine of 1876-78. Notwithstanding all the efforts of Government and a vast expenditure, a great mortality occurred in connection with this visitation. Sir Richard Temple was during that time Famine Commissioner. His extraordinary power of work and administration was shown by his ubiquity in the different distressed districts, and by a series of comprehensive reports which he drew up pointing out the result of the varied and painful experience which the past few years had given, and upon that report the Indian Government determined upon adopting two permanent ameliorative measures. They decided in each year to appropriate a certain proportion of the revenue of the country to a famine fund, to be devoted either to famine protective works, to the relief of famine, or to the reduction of debt; and they further decided that in every one of the provinces of India there should be drawn up a famine administration code, which was periodically to be revised and improved as experience matured.

THE PRESENT "CONFLICT."

The area which at the present moment is affected by scarcity is very large, and comprises a population of about 36,000,000 inhabitants. A very large proportion of this population will be able to help themselves, and only the residuum will come upon the Government for relief. But there is in addition a threatened district of about 18,000,000 inhabitants, and there is, further, an area partly affected and partly threatened in Native States comprising another 18,000,000 of population. The two great crops in India are harvested in the spring and autumn. The autumn crop is sown in the summer, and the spring crop is sown in the winter. The autumn crop in this area has to a large extent failed, and unless rain falls during the next two months the spring crop will fail also. The evil with which we have now to contend is serious, and it may become very grave. There is no permanent Poor Law system in India such as exists in this country, and the officials controlling the higher branches of administration in India are few and far between compared to the enormous numbers that they control; and yet, notwithstanding these difficulties, I look forward with some confidence as to the result of the conflict in which we are now engaged. In parts of the North-West Provinces there was a serious scarcity last winter. Three hundred thousand persons were at one time upon the relief works, yet so good was the system of organization and administration that outside these areas few knew of what was going on within them; and the Lieutenant-Governor, with pardonable pride at the successful close of these operations, declared that a well-administered local government could and should be able to take a scarcity in its stride. (Cheers.)

IMPROVEMENTS SINCE 1878.

It is, as I have told you, nearly twenty years since I was the official mouthpiece of the India Office upon questions of famine and of scarcity, and I have during the past few weeks been carefully investigating the improvements which have taken place during that time in dealing with famines and scarcities, and which are embodied in the latest edition of the Famine Code Instructions. And you will perhaps just allow me to give you in some detail what the purport of those instructions is. In India the Government are the owners of the whole land of the country, and the revenue which they derive from the land forms a large proportion of their income. There has therefore been instituted a very elaborate system of observation in connection with the output of crops, upon which so large a proportion of their pecuniary resources depends. In every village there is an official called a "Patwari," and under the Famine Code he is desired in ordinary times to periodically report upon the condition of the crops belonging to his village, the rainfall, and any other phenomena worth notice, the rise and fall in prices, the rain register; and all the reports he so makes are sent to a registrar, who is vernacularly called a "Kinungo." He, again, sends all the reports which he receives to the subdivisional officers, from whom they go to the collector, and finally to the Commissioner, who is the highest Executive official nearest to the Lieutenant-Governor of the province. And if any staple product in any district rises 25 per cent. a special report has at once to be made from the locality in which the rise occurs. All these documents are sent to the Director of Land Revenue and Agriculture, who tests periodically their accuracy and the system in force for the supply of information, and who notes any imperfections and suggests improvements, and his reports are all sent on to the local Governor of the Province. The work, therefore, of notation, record, and observation is complete from beginning to end. A perfect network is created originating from the lowest authorities and tapering up to the highest. Every collector has to keep a list of public works for his district divided into two classes—works specially intended for the relief of the agricultural populations in the vicinity of their villages, and, secondly, works of a larger character not designed for the agricultural population near their homes, but part of a regular programme of administrative work; and lists of these works, and the numbers for whom they would provide employment, have to be annually revised by the Public Works Department, whose business it is to see to the sufficiency and suitability of the work sanctioned, and these revised lists have to be sent to every Commissioner by a given date. Now, these reports are annually made and are a regular part of the administrative rotation of every Province; but when scarcity is imminent then special reports have at once to be made as to prospects of crops, the movements of people, the condition of grain stocks, and the failure of fodder or the mortality amongst cattle, and upon the receipt of these reports every Commissioner has to put forward proposed measures of relief, the extra expenditure to be incurred, the source from which it can be defrayed, the remission of revenue to be made, the advances to be sanctioned, the number of test relief works to be opened, and the employment of the additional staff which he will require. When we advance a step further and famine is actually upon the Province, then orders are sent to every district to subordinate the ordinary objects and methods of their expenditure and administration to the special consideration of saving life. Co-operation with the Public Works Department is at once established, so that the necessary supplementary works may be opened and classified, and, when opened, reports have to be constantly and periodically sent in on the condition of those seeking relief, on the price of food, on

the sufficiency of wages paid, on regulations for the transfer of workers from one place to another, sanitation of camps, market arrangements, and hospital accommodation. In addition to these arrangements for giving relief and employment on a large scale the whole country affected is mapped out into famine circles. A separate organisation is established in every one of these circles under a separate officer whose duty it is to visit every village in his district, to watch the migration from one village to another in order to prevent persons from going to places unable to support them, to see that gratuitous relief is given by the villages to those whose physical condition renders them incapable of self-support, and to superintend the construction and administration of poorhouses and kitchens provided for indigent children and women. I have ventured to detain you at some length with the details of this remarkable Code, for I think it is the most satisfactory official document I ever read in my life. It is a monument of patient and prescient administrative work prompted by the highest motives and based on the latest and most effective executive experience. (Cheers.)

Courage and Resolution of the People.

It is a great mobilization of force, not to deal out death but to avert it, not to inflict suffering on man or beast but to alleviate and remove it. (Cheers.) But the extraordinary improvement which has taken place in the administrative arrangements for dealing with famine do not by any degree exhaust the advantages which the Indian Government possess over all preceding Administrations. Twenty years ago almost the same area as is now affected was the scene of a desolating famine. Within this area during the past twenty years the irrigated land has more than doubled; the railway mileage has trebled; and facilities for transport and communication have not only during that period increased inside India, but outside. Up to now in every previous famine India has had to depend upon food supplies from herself. For the first time she can now depend for food supplies upon the rest of the world, and heavy imports of grain are already beginning to arrive from America and other countries. The people are facing their difficulties with courage and resolution, and I am informed that during the last three months no fewer than 100,000 wells have been constructed out of the advances made by Government. Suggestions have been made that the Government should enter into the market and purchase grain for themselves. Our past experience shows that although the Government can buy better than one trader it cannot buy better than all private traders, and we are therefore not disposed, except in exceptional circumstances, to interfere with the ordinary trade arrangements for the movement and distribution of grain. But, however admirable a system may be, it is useless unless you have confidence in those who have to administer it. In this particular we are exceedingly fortunate. Lord Elgin during his tenure of office has given indications of exceptional ability. His capacity for work, his power of always getting to the kernel of any question he attacks, his level-headedness and determination, place him as an administrator high in the ranks even of the distinguished men who have preceded him; and in Sir Antony Macdonnell, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, upon whom the brunt of the responsibility and anxiety must fall, we have a highly experienced and capable officer whose successful management of the scarcity of last year justifies us in believing that he will equally distinguish himself in the heavier engagement which he is now facing. We cannot now foretell the exact dimensions of the calamity with which we may have to deal, but we may be confident that never before have the organised forces of civilisation been so scientifically measured or so skilfully distributed against the inroads of famine and its attendant horrors; and I think we may confidently anticipate that the operations which are now being carried on will be associated neither with a waste of money nor the far more serious mortality which was associated with previous famine. Here we can only watch, co-operate with, and encourage those in India who are dealing with this visitation. It may be that, if the famine attains very large dimensions and the Government have to deal with a very large number of individuals seeking relief, there will be an opportunity for the employment of private agencies and public subscriptions to supplement what the Government is doing. Our assistance and relief must be given on a system which can hardly be made sufficiently elastic to meet all cases of necessity, but if it should appear to those in India that an appeal to the public for such co-operation is necessary I feel sure that the appeal will be made in England as well as in India, and that the people of this country will respond to any such demand with that sympathetic liberality which has ever characterised their response to similar appeals. (Loud cheers.)

IV.—SOME REMARKS.

Commenting on Lord George Hamilton's speech, the *Daily News* (November 18) wrote:

About a hundred and fifty persons, it is said, attended the suburban meeting which was addressed last night on the important subject of the Indian famine, by the Secretary of State for India. Whether we are to regard this as an illustration of that indifference to politics which practically makes a present of greater as well as lesser London to the Tories, or to a deplorable lack of interest in our great Indian Empire, or to some unfortunate failure on the part of Lord George Hamilton's name to draw big houses, we leave others to determine. It is certain at all events that if there is on the part of the constituencies any failure to realise what is happening in India, this apathy is not shared by the civil servants of the Crown in the vicinity of the danger.

The *St. James's Gazette*, which is not often hard to please, remarked:

Lord George Hamilton made one or two little slips in the otherwise instructive and interesting account he gave yesterday of the situation in the famine-stricken provinces of India. In describing the manner in which the provincial famine codes would be applied for the organisation of relief measures, he stated that certain functions were assigned to the Commissioner of every district. The head of a district in the North-West Provinces is the magistrate and collector; in the Punjab, the Deputy-Commissioner. A Commissioner in both provinces is the head of a division or collection of districts. The Secretary of State also seemed to ignore the Board of Revenue and the Financial Commissioners. What, however, was even more curious was the reference to district boards as being charged with the duty of organising local measures of relief. The district board, as at present constituted, is a sort of county council. In its present form it owes its existence to Lord Ripon's experiment in local autonomy.

AN INDIAN GENIUS.

A Talk with Professor J. C. Bose M.A., D.Sc.

Evidence of the awakened activity of the Hindu mind under English education has hitherto been visible in the departments of religion, politics and general literature, but wanting in the department of science. The circumstance was doubtless due to the great difficulty of prosecuting scientific research in India, chiefly because of the lack of well equipped laboratories where such work could be properly carried out. When it is borne in mind that numerous scientific men of high eminence are incessantly working in the different laboratories of Europe and America, furnished with the best appliances, the difficulties which beset an Indian in working out something original can easily be conceived. Yet in spite of these drawbacks, a Calcutta Professor has lately won the admiration of the scientific world, by the brilliancy of his achievements in physical science. Little more than a year ago, Professor J. C. Bose's first paper on the "Polarisation of Electric Rays" appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and drew the attention of men of science in Europe to the remarkable researches commenced at Presidency College. Two other papers, "On a New Electro-Polariscope" and "On Double-refractors in a Strained Dielectric," were shortly afterwards published in the *Electrician*. The importance, and

originality of Professor Bose's next paper, "On the Determination of the Indices of Electric Refraction," are indicated by the fact that it was accepted by the Royal Society and published in its *Proceedings*. The Society further marked its appreciation of the value of these researches by a grant from the Government Fund for their continuance. Yet another paper, "On the Determination of the Wave-length of Electric Radiation," has been recently accepted and published by the Royal Society. The University of London, in recognition of these remarkable scientific investigations, which it deemed to be of special excellence, conferred on Professor Bose the degree of Doctor of Science, the highest honour which the University can bestow. The attention of the Government of India being drawn to these scientific successes, which struck even Lord Kelvin "with wonder and admiration," Professor Bose was sent to Europe in order to lay before the British Association the results of his researches and to visit the different scientific institutions. Professor Bose's paper "On a Complete Apparatus for the study of the properties of Electric Waves," which was read before the British Association, was received with high appreciation by the savants present. They regarded it as "an event in the proceedings of the Physical Section." But the crowning recognition of Professor Bose's work has recently come from the Royal Institution whose secretary, on behalf of the managers, has requested him to deliver a Friday evening discourse from the memorable place whence Davy and Faraday used to deliver their epoch-making addresses to select audiences.

I sought out Professor Bose shortly after he had delivered his paper before the British Association at Liverpool, and asked him, for the information of the readers of INDIA, to discuss a little further his work and electrical apparatus.

Those who associate the word Professor with grave and reverend seniors, white-haired and bespectacled, will be disappointed when they see Professor Bose. He is so youthful in appearance that I mentally decided he had been appointed Professor perhaps in this very session. This proved to be an error, as he has held his present post for several years. I asked Professor Bose to begin "right away," as our American friends phrase it, and explain the reason of his visit to England.

"I have come for two reasons," was the answer in peculiarly rapid and fluent English. "First, to read a paper at the meetings of the British Association, at Liverpool, dealing with the scientific work upon which I am engaged. Then I have come to the West, to travel a little in Europe. The Government is thinking of improving and extending our laboratories, as the present ones are insufficient and not up to date. I shall not only travel in England but on the continent, to see what laboratories other countries possess, and what we can suitably adopt in Calcutta."

"To begin at the very beginning. Do you mind saying which are your special subjects?"

"Physics, and I am specially interested in electricity. I have to lecture before a large number—about 200—of students at Presidency College. I studied at Cambridge, and was at the same time working for the B.Sc., degree of London. Yes, I hold both degrees."

"What was the subject of the paper you read before the British Association?"

"It dealt with an apparatus which I constructed for studying the properties of electric waves. Recent research has brought to light a new and vast region of forces. We knew of the properties of moderately rapid vibrations of ether which give rise to light. The slow and the exceedingly quick vibrations of ether are invisible, and little is known about them. You see, our organs of perception fail us here, and there may be many wonderful forces working around us of which we know nothing. The slow ether vibrations known as electric waves, for example, have many remarkable properties, and the apparatus I exhibited before the British Association, was for the study of these properties."

"You read, I believe, this paper before the Physical Section of the Association."

"Yes, before an audience composed of experts, amongst them some of the greatest living scientists. There were present Lord Kelvin, Sir Gabriel Stokes, Professors J. J. Thomson, Fitzgerald, Everett, Oliver Lodge, Sylvanus Thomson. Then there were the Continental physicists, Lenard, De La Rive and Bjerknes."

"Were you nervous?"

"Just a little at the beginning. It has not often fallen to me to address such a critical audience. But I soon got interested in my subject and was encouraged by the kind manner in which the paper was received. The audience seemed to be greatly interested in the working of the different parts of the apparatus, specially in the methods adopted to overcome the numerous difficulties."

"I gather from the scientific journals that the reading of your paper was regarded as an event in the proceedings of the Physical Section. I suppose your audience took a keen interest in the success of your work?"

"I think they did. You are not perhaps aware of the many difficulties in the way of carrying on original scientific investigation. For months and months you are baffled, and all progress comes to a standstill. Numerous experimental difficulties arise which at first appear insurmountable. One gets wearied and heart-sick, and at times loses all hope. It is by sheer perseverance that these difficulties are ultimately overcome. The encouragement obtained from fellow-workers enables one to tide over these periods of depression."

"Did you make all the different parts of your electrical apparatus yourself?"

"I made them with such help as Calcutta could afford. On my arrival in London, I went to the best firm of instrument makers, and asked them to make a duplicate. This they did, and also expressed a wish to make copies of the same instruments for supply in the laboratories of Europe and America."

"I suppose you have visited the leading men of science in England."

"I was first invited invited by Lord Rayleigh to see his private laboratory at Terling Place. He takes great interest in my work, and was kind

enough to place my papers in the hands of the Royal Society. At Lord Kelvin's invitation I visited Glasgow, indeed I have only just returned. I there met many distinguished scientific men. I also went to Cambridge. I have been asked to give a lecture at Belfast, and the Royal Institution has recently invited me to deliver a Friday evening discourse."

"Do students at Presidency College shew aptitude for scientific work?"

"Some of them do. But no good work can be accomplished unless a student after taking his degree devotes several years of his life to patient work at a subject. A degree means nothing but the laying of elementary foundations; the real work comes afterwards. Now our students as a rule are very poor. I know of many instances where the members of a family have suffered considerable privations to give a good education to their boy. When the young student gets his University degree, he feels in honour bound to look for employment, and support those who underwent such hardships for his education. In any case, he cannot afford to continue his studies after taking his degree. Post-graduate scholarships would enable some of them to devote themselves to research work, but of these we have none. Scientific research does not make for a man's personal advantage, as a rule."

"You must get hold of a great rajah, some one who will be your father and mother, as Indians say. Persuade him that the founding of scholarships will be rewarded both here and hereafter. Have you any ladies among your pupils at Presidency College?"

"No, not yet, but before I left Calcutta, we received an application from two ladies. Indian women are making very considerable progress, but in scientific education, they almost all take up medicine, since it offers more of a career for them."

"Can they make a living by it?"

"Certainly. In India there is probably a better prospect of success for a medical woman than in England, since the path is fortunately cleared for them by our customs and prejudices. All Indian women studying medicine learn the English system. Our native medicines have often been of great value, but they are now being rapidly suspended."

"You did not tell me the name of your college at Cambridge, Professor Bose?"

"Christ Church, Milton's College. It has now natural science as a speciality."

"When you travel on the Continent what cities shall you visit?"

"Those that possess good laboratories, Paris, Heidelberg, Berlin, Vienna, Zürich, and a few other cities. Although Zürich is only a small place, it has one of the finest laboratories in the world, connected with its admirable polytechnic. Having met many of the professors at Liverpool, I shall have the pleasure of renewing acquaintance with them in their own cities. There will be no difficulty as to language, for all these scientists know English thoroughly."

Later I learned from another source that the Government of Bengal voted a small sum as a permanent science research fund, to enable Professor Bose to continue his scientific work. It is encouraging to learn that the Mahárájáh of Tipperah has presented Presidency College with a magnificent telescope, and that the Bengal Government has sanctioned the constructing of a complete magnetic observatory where such problems will be studied as the frequency and intensity of magnetic storms, their terrestrial and solar disturbances. C. S. B.

Reviews.

THE BABA LOG.

The Baba Log. A Tale of Child life in India. By the Rev. J. Middleton Macdonald. (London: David Nutt.)

A year ago, the preface to this volume tells us, the Rev. J. M. Macdonald, having been invited by the Cuttack children to their fancy dress ball, wrote an account of the festivities for the *Englishman* "as if he were a child guest;" and the idea "caught on" to such an extent that he has "ventured to write a simple book for children, woven round the real life of our English Baba Log in India." It may at once be frankly stated that the world would have been little poorer had the reverend gentleman resisted the temptation. The volume now published shews little trace of the germ from which it sprang, if we except a chapter in the middle containing a description of a fancy dress ball. This is evidently the author's strong point, his show trick, which had to be led up to; what precedes and what follows are merely prelude and conclusion respectively. Of the child's point of view there is little evidence. We have no hesitation in saying that never children spake as these children speak. The twins who play the central *rôle*, and by judicious questions that recall the illustrious Sandford and Merton of our ancestors enable the author to express his opinions and air his knowledge, are as unnatural though not as amusing as a similar pair who have figured in recent fiction. They rejoice in much more high-sounding titles, it is true, being christened Dering Oldrid Norton Blunt and Frederica Adrianne Yolande Blunt; as is incumbent on aristocratic infants they associate only with playmates of equally euphonious names, such as Cicely, Varony, and Antonia. The appearance of one Polly Hope is quite a relief and the reader feels that he may at last unbend a little. But in all essentials the twins follow the example of their prototypes, and by carefully timed questions give the author an opening for little lectures on ancient architecture, the education of women, Hindu mythology, Indian history, and Jameson's raid. The various adult characters are merely disguises through which are seen the features of the Rev. J. M. Macdonald; the children merely give the cue. Even the "baby talk" is Mr. Macdonald's and reminds us of the uncouth gambols of the affectionate ass in Æsop. At times the sententiousness which characterises the book descends to the level of priggishness. Here is an expression of opinion on women's magazines.

"Quite half the magazine is taken up with full-length portraits of a Paris gown or opera cloak. . . . hardly a page of mental food in the whole magazine. The proprietors of these magazines ought to combine to level up the thoughts of the average British matron."

A certain lack of sense of proportion is evident in the words of a Commissioner who after three shots, fired at a native baby by mistake, which have fortunately missed, says:—

"Thank heaven I didn't fire. I should never have been forgiven *by the native press* if I had killed that baby."

The italics are ours.

After this the reader will not be surprised to find that the wit with which the volume is relieved, here and there, is of a ponderous order. A story which is deemed worthy of a place in the *farrago* turns on the custom in various Christian societies of changing the names of the devotees. Says an old Plymouth woman:—

"'But look 'ere, sir, I've got one think agin the Horder. My son was called Binjamin afore 'e was born, and Father 'Opkins 'as gone and called him Brother Anthony.'

"The padre says he clean bolted with a grave face, but shrieking internally, and when he got up the stairs into Father Chase's study he laughed for ten minutes without stopping."

The padre's sense of humour must have been abnormally developed.

If Mr. Macdonald's efforts are characterised by a lack of definite purpose, continuity, plot, or incident, yet the book might at a pinch be made to serve the purpose of a Hindustani Ollendorf. The utterances of servants and others are printed in dialect, and followed by English translations in square brackets. For the correctness of style and idiom we cannot vouch. But there is much fluent patter about hathis, chaprasis, chota hazri, and so on. For the rest we find a considerable quantity of Anglo-Indian small talk, a few odds and ends of information on local topics, and an occasional anecdote of no particular merit or point. Wedged in an after-dinner conversation there is a (presumably gratuitous) two-page advertisement of a religious order which has founded a priory at Alton in Hampshire. We never heard of the Order of St. Paul. But we cannot pay the author's imagination the credit of inventing it without stronger grounds than his work furnishes. Finally there is some discussion of current topics such as the salt-tax, and the question of representative councils in India, on which the author expresses sound views, but views in no way original or even remarkable from the lips of a non-official Anglo-Indian. On the whole he succeeds best when he packs the children off to bed, abandons the effort to talk down to their level, and is frankly prosaic and commonplace. Apparently the volume is intended to form part of the series of charming gift-books for children which is being published by Mr. David Nutt. There is reason for fear that any kind-hearted uncle who is attracted by the delightful type and general appearance of the book, or by the very successful reproductions of photographs that appear as illustrations, will run the risk of gaining from his nephews and nieces more credit for his intentions than his actual deeds. Most children of the present day, we think, are likely to vote the Rev. J. M. Macdonald a bore.

A FIRST BOOK OF JURISPRUDENCE.

A First Book of Jurisprudence for Students of the Common Law. By Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. 1896.)

This little volume is a most admirable production. It is addressed to readers who have laid the foundation of a liberal education and are beginning the special study of law. But it may be doubted whether these readers, grateful as they will be for Sir Frederick Pollock's aid, will be able to value it at quite its full worth. To do that it is perhaps necessary for one to have read law without this book and then, turning to it, to realize how much would have been gained from the "helping hand" and the "warning voice" in the "stage of confusion and illusion" through which every student must make his way in his own fashion. Needless to say, what the Corpus Christi Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford gives us is not a short cut to knowledge. Still less is it a cram-book for the "Bar final." It seeks to set forth, in language intelligible to scholars who are not yet lawyers, so much of the general ideas underlying legal discussions as is needful for the removal of the most pressing difficulties. At the same time it is intended to lighten the first steps of the beginner in the practical use of law-books and the appreciation of legal authorities. A man who has taken "Greats" and is beginning to read law finds, as Sir F. Pollock says, in the new literature he has to master, many leading conceptions and distinctions which are assumed to be familiar, and are so to lawyers, but which, for that very reason, are not often expressly stated, still less often discussed, and hardly ever explained. "He has not only to discover for himself, often with much bewilderment, the actual contents of legal terms, but to realise the legal point of view and the legal habit of mind." Accordingly the first part of the book deals with "Some General Legal Notions." Here Sir Frederick Pollock discusses such topics as the nature and meaning of law, justice according to law, the subject-matter of law, divisions of law, persons, things, events and acts, possession and ownership, and relation of obligations to property. The second part, which need not be read last, treats of "Legal Authorities and their Use," under these headings: the express forms of law, the sources of English law, sovranty in English law, custom in English law, law reports, case-law and precedents, and ancient and modern statutes. As to this second and more "practical" part, Sir F. Pollock writes: "No practical art can really be taught; one man can only help another to learn; but it is common experience that such help will often save a great deal of trouble. Certainly no man ever learned to shoot by being lectured on the construction of a rifle, and yet such lectures are a regular part of musketry instruction." We have merely indicated the general scope of a scholarly work which will be simply invaluable to all serious students of law, and which, in point of style and method, stands in pleasing contrast with the ordinary law books.

We have received from Mr. Henry Frowde a copy of the new edition of Sir William Hunter's delightful story "The Old Missionary," which we reviewed at length on a former occasion. The popularity of the book is indicated by the eloquent announcement on the title-page "twenty-first thousand." The present edition is a handsome production, not unworthy of the artistic traditions of the Oxford University Press.

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